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Anti-Americanism in Japan

The Reporter

February 16, 1954

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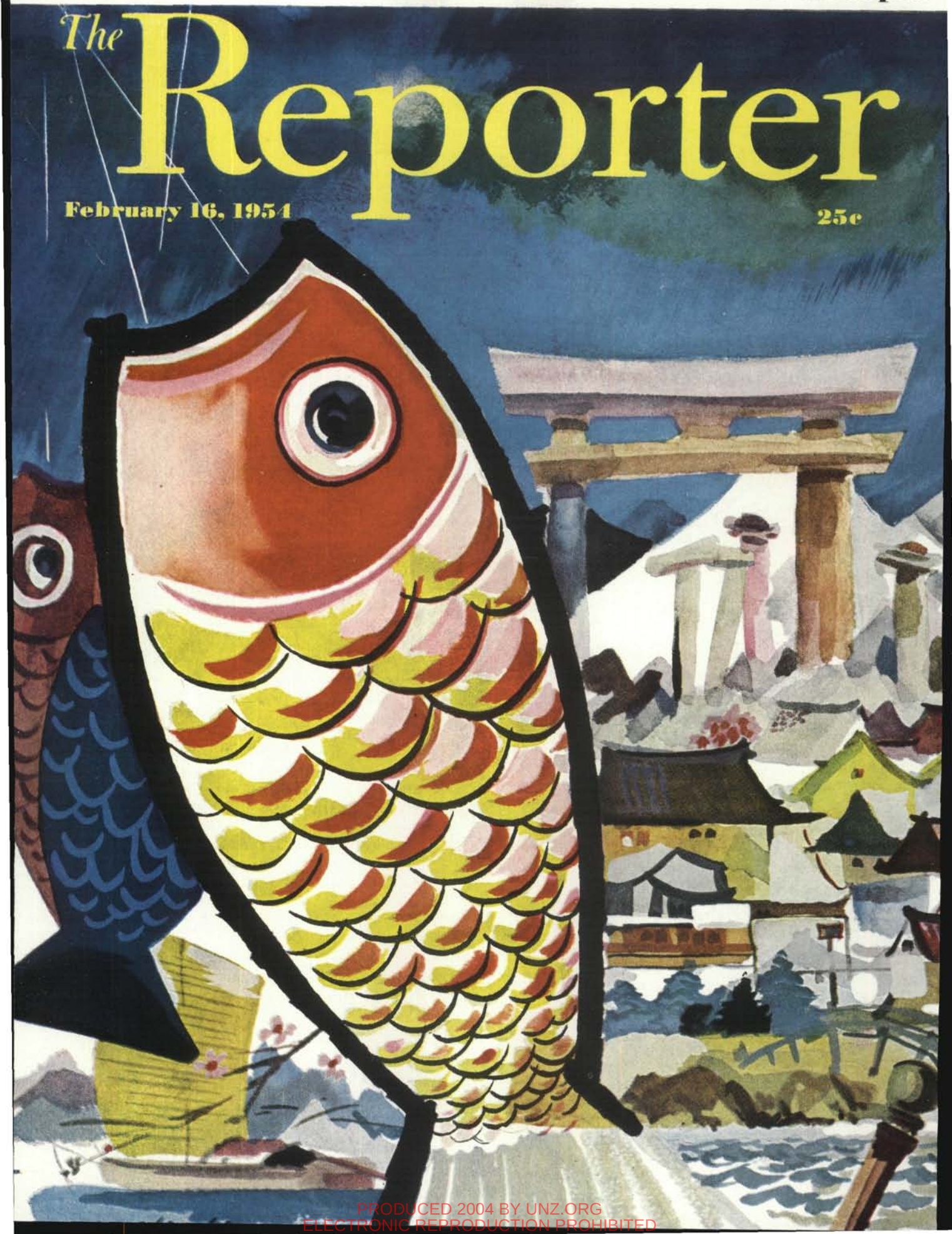

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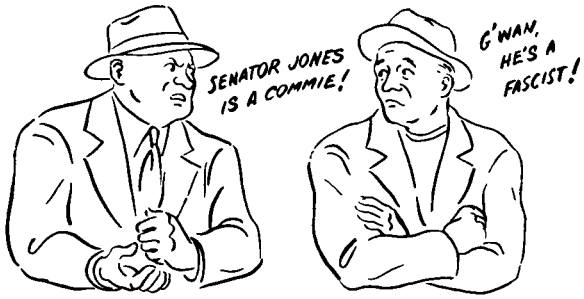

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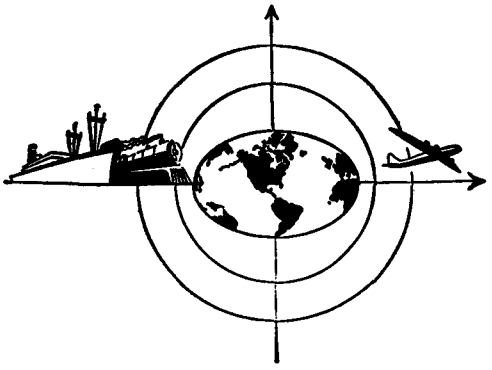

THE REPORTER'S NOTES

Negotiating from Weakness

In the last few weeks, the Administration has been submitting its term papers to the American public. The adult-education program designed to train the new national leaders to the conduct of government has reached what may be called the end of the first year-long term. After the President's State of the Union message and the Secretary of State's address before the Council on Foreign Relations, no one can say that the Administration hasn't a program.

From these two speeches, from all the other messages the President has sent to Congress, from the reports of the special commissions pouring out of the Government Printing Office—from these multiple and authentic sources we can get a detailed knowledge of the course the Administration is determined to follow. If anything, there is too much to know, not all of it exactly exhilarating or inspiring. But the function of responsible journalism is to put two and two together and tell the reader what it amounts to. We cannot plead that there is too much to read. We must do our homework on the homework that our national leaders and their advisers have done. Sometimes we feel that this job of journalistic interpretation and reporting is something that shouldn't happen to a dog.

IN HIS State of the Union Message the President said: ". . . we are in transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy." This implies that we are moving toward peace or, more precisely, that we are emerging from that condition of no-war, no-peace—with a little bit of war thrown in occasionally—that international Communism had imposed on us. This notion that we are moving toward peace is probably justified by another assertion in the President's message: "That precious intangible, the initiative, is becoming ours."

Peace, however, is not something that can be declared unilaterally short of unconditional surrender by one side or the other. Rather, it must be gained bit by bit from the opponent—the Moscow-Peking axis. A measure of peace can be gained by hard and bloody war, as was the case in Korea, or it may be reached through negotiations. No negotiation with the Moscow-Peking axis is even remotely conceivable unless we negotiate, as Secretary Acheson used to say, from a position of strength.

Yet on the very eve of negotiations our government leaders decided to diminish the strength which, since the Korean aggression, has been assiduously built up—at a great price. Such a reduction, or "New Look," as it is called, would have been conceivable only if it had been the result of hard diplomatic bargaining with the opponent powers, and only if it had been accompanied by simultaneous ascertainable reductions on their part. But when it comes to military power, the only kind the Communists understand, our diplomacy—to paraphrase Woodrow Wilson—seems to be too proud to bargain. "We do negotiate about specific matters," as Secretary Dulles put it, "but only to advance the cause of human welfare." To bother with less would be beneath our dignity.

So two of our divisions have been recalled from Korea — unilaterally. We will, the Secretary of State said, "deter such aggression *as would mean* general war." Mr. Dulles predicted that we may have some tempo-

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If you made a diagnosis of the violent psychosis
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You would find that hypertension is induced by any mention
Of a method by which people can afford their doctors' fees.

Hints of government assistance meet with adamant resistance,
As their very private enterprise they zealously protect,
While impartial health commissions who report the true conditions
Are considered (Hippocratically) hostile and suspect.

Making doctors' care available to many is assailable
As socialist conspiracy designed to cut them down,
And a citizen so luckless as to sicken—and be buckless—
Must simply fall in debt or on the mercy of the town.

Yet while angrily rejecting any efforts at correcting
Such unfortunate lacunae in the health of U.S.A.,
The organ most in need of a prognosis and indeed of
Rehabilitation is the heart of A.M.A.

—SEC

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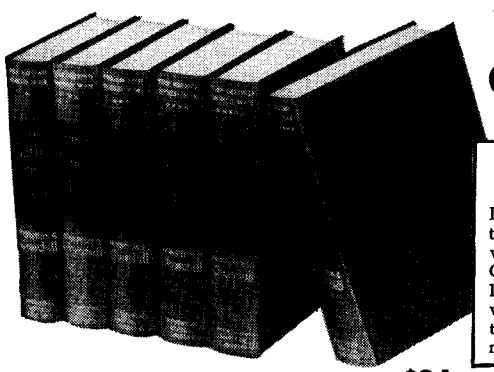

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rary setbacks and the Communist axis some limited successes. "Where?" anguished commentators have been asking. One of the keenest among them suggested that Mr. Dulles might have had Italy in mind—a country with forty-seven million people, a modern industrial complex in the north, and airfields in the south which are part of the defense perimeter.

However, we don't think there is any use speculating about what Mr. Dulles may have had in mind: He is apparently ready to "let the dust settle" on many a land if the Communist conspiracy can take it over.

To judge from the Administration's pronouncements, Communism seems to be considered a power which resides either on another planet or under our beds. The defense job is entrusted to H-bomb-carrying rockets and to armies of domestic "exterminators." The peoples of foreign countries exposed to the Communist danger are left to rely on freedom, which can make the "foundation crumble under the tread of [the dictators'] iron boots."

Salesman's Progress

With quiet pride we read in the paper the other day that Vice-President Richard M. Nixon was designated "Salesman of the Year" by the Los Angeles Sales Executives Club. Our readers may remember the article we published on Nixon's campaign fund. Its title was "Birth of a Salesman."

Lately we have followed with awed admiration the well-tempered spontaneity of all the newspaper and magazine stories, day in and day out, week in and week out, in praise of the extraordinary job the young, personable Vice-President is doing. Our Nixon folder is bursting. We quote at random: " 'For all practical purposes, he's running the government here in Washington.' "—*Life.*

"By making himself the Eisenhower Administration's star salesman, Richard M. Nixon has made something of the Vice Presidency. After only nine months in office, in fact, he probably has acquired more real influence in Washington than any of his predecessors ever achieved, however long their tenure."—*Newsweek.*

But as usual in this sort of competition, the honors go to *Time.* In a recent cover story, *Time* makes it clear that Mr. Nixon has reached a higher stature as Vice-President than "four towering figures: John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, John C. Calhoun and Theodore Roosevelt."

Our readers of both sexes will be happy to learn that according to *Time* Mrs. Nixon ("Pat" to them) does most of her laundry, half the cooking, and all the marketing, repairs squeaky stairs, sticky doors, faucets, and light fixtures, answers two hundred letters in an average week, and crowds her afternoons with lunches, charity benefits, and bazaars. *Time* doesn't say anything about it, but we are confident that she also takes good care of Checkers.

Middle of What Road?

"The idea is to get these protectionists into a room with sensible people, and educate them to some wider views." That is how one high official of President Eisenhower's Administration described the Randall Commission on Foreign Policy last August, when it was being set up. "I doubt," he added, "if any of the Republicans [on the Commission] would dare to write a minority report."

Clarence Randall's report, released on January 23, contained not one but forty-five individual dissents to particular proposals, plus two long minority reports by the Republican leaders who will have to pilot through Congress any changes in trade and investment policy. Congressmen Dan Reed and Richard Simpson accurately described the report in one sentence: "It adds nothing to the views of the members of the Commission previously published and well known before their selection."

THE Randall Report is the latest of a series of such documents bearing the names of Gordon Gray, Nelson Rockefeller, and Daniel Bell. What sets it off from its predecessors is a shockingly narrow idea of what the national interest is.

In 1950, the Gray Report defined the national interest in one memorable paragraph:

"The objective of our foreign economic policy has been, and is, to encourage among the nations of the

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free world those economic conditions and relationships essential for the development of stable democratic societies willing and able to defend themselves and raise the living standards of their peoples. These objectives are to the benefit of all peoples; their national interests are bound up with our national interests; our security and well-being are clearly connected with their security and well-being. Neither we nor they can live alone or defend ourselves alone. This fundamental unity of interest underlies our efforts both to achieve long-term progress and also to meet the immediate necessities presented by Soviet aggressive designs."

This broad conception of our purposes is conspicuously missing from the Randall Report. It can be combed in vain for a comparable statement of what our foreign economic policy is all about. The policy is to maintain the "strength of our domestic economy." Two traditional American ideas—that there is an identity of interest between the United States and our major allies, and that our actions are never wholly selfish—seem to have been lost by the wayside.

THE Commission majority gave in at several points to the protectionist view that the only way to deal with inefficient industries is to protect them from foreign competition. The report is full of such statements as "No further aid is justified unless it contributes to the security of the United States." At one place the report even seems to object to other countries' processing their own raw materials.

Mr. Randall meant to do better than this. Trouble was, he tried to find a compromise between a freer trade policy and the ideas of irreconcilables like Senator Millikin and Congressmen Reed and Simpson. Out of this process came something that might be called a policy of national *selfish* interest.

Mr. Randall tried to steer down the middle of the road. He found the middle, not of a national highway but of a Republican road, a country lane unpaved and winding, which skirts the high places and molds its course to the terrain of politics.

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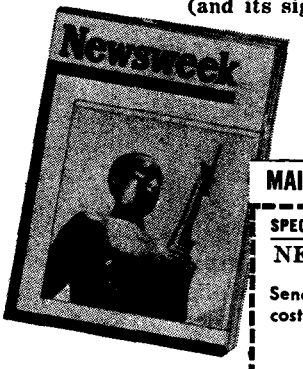

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WHO— WHAT— WHY—

•

ONE OF THE GREATEST political miracles of our times has been the swift emergence of West Germany as a paragon of political stability and of smoothly working democratic institutions. In his editorial, **Harlan Cleveland** discusses what our "agonizing reappraisal" of strategy means to Germany and to Europe. **Charles W. Thayer** describes how the Germans themselves fear that they can no longer count on the very elements that made possible the rebirth of their nation. Few men are better qualified to discuss German problems than Mr. Thayer, with his long service as a senior U.S. diplomatic official in Germany and Russia. He has written *Hands Across the Caviar.*

Norbert Muhlen's account of the misery and despair of the East German people provides an unhappy contrast to the picture of West Germany drawn by Mr. Thayer. Mr. Muhlen, a German economist who opposed the Nazis and has become an American citizen, is the author of *The Return of Germany.* His latest *Reporter* article (September 1, 1953) was "Two Days That Shook the Soviet World."

HOW THE presentation of both sides of public issues can be so loaded as to benefit exclusively the argument on one side is shown in "McCarthy, Hunt, and Facts Forum." This article, a condensation of a series entitled "The Facts About Facts Forum," published by the Providence *Journal,* represents a departure from our editorial practice, for we are not a "digest" magazine. We publish this article as a public service and as a tribute to the publisher of the Providence *Journal* and to the writer who looked into the facts and brought out this very disturbing story

There is no doubt whatever that the fitness of government employees to hold positions of trust has to be ascertained; there is reason for serious doubt, however, as to the way this ascertaining is now being done. Lately spokesmen for the Administration have claimed credit for high efficiency in weeding out undesirable employees by pointing out the large number of dismissals. But even in his latest press conference the Attorney General refused to give any breakdown of these figures that would show who were dismissed for security reasons and who were dismissed for any number of less exciting causes. Our Washington Editor, **Douglass Cater,** reports on this subject. In future issues we will publish further articles on how security investigations function and how they should be made to operate in order to serve their true purpose.

ANTI-AMERICANISM seems to be epidemic these days in many parts of the world. But it is singularly distressing to find it in Japan—a country that has been so outstandingly the object of American generosity. **Atsushi Oi,** a former Japanese Navy captain and now the editor of a Tokyo magazine of current affairs, recently came to the United States to inquire into American views on Japanese rearmament. Mr. Oi is no alarmist. That is why the warnings he gives us on Japanese opinion must be taken seriously. He was assisted in preparing his article by **Clarke H. Kawakami.**

In this issue's installment of her "Any Resemblance" series of sketches, **Marya Mannes** shows that if at times she feels compelled to debunk pretension and attack the complacent, she can also write in a spirit of great compassion.

Robert Shaplen, who reviews Chester Bowles's *Ambassador's Report,* is a free-lance journalist.

The wonderful fish on our cover, high in the air against the background of a Japanese town, was painted for us by **Tack Shigaki,** a California-born artist of Japanese extraction, who tells us that the Japanese parade in the streets and hang out these great kitelike fish every year on May 5 to honor the "most important" members of their families—the boys.

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The Reporter

A FORTNIGHTLY OF FACTS AND IDEAS

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THE REPORTER'S NOTES 2

As They Meet in Berlin

WHO SPEAKS FOR EUROPE?—AN EDITORIAL . . . . . *Harlan Cleveland* 9
WEST GERMANY: 'IF AMERICA FAILS US—' . . . . . *Charles W. Thayer* 10
EAST GERMANY: THE DATE IS STILL JUNE 17 . . . . . *Norbert Muhlen* 14

At Home & Abroad

MCCARTHY, HUNT, AND FACTS FORUM 19
1,456? 2,200? IF EITHER, WHAT? . . . . . *Douglass Cater* 27
ANTI-AMERICANISM IN JAPAN . . *Atsushi Oi* as told to *Clarke H. Kawakami* 30

Views & Reviews

Any Resemblance . . . WASTE PRODUCT . . . . . *Marya Mannes* 35
TWO ENVOYS:
1. BOWLES IN INDIA . . . . . *Robert Shaplen* 37
2. STEVENS IN RUSSIA . . . . . *Gouverneur Paulding* 40

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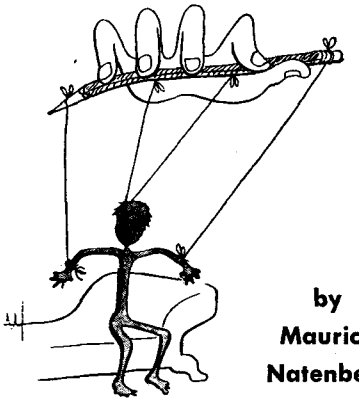

by Maurice Natenberg

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CORRESPONDENCE

ICKES ON WILLKIE

To the Editor: In your issue of January 5, M. R. Werner, reviewing *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes,* mentions "his characterization of Wendell Willkie as 'a barefoot boy from Wall Street.' "

I can't prove it, but if memory serves me correctly what Ickes actually called Willkie was "a simple, barefoot Wall Street lawyer," which seems to me much better than the phrase in Mr. Werner's review.

DAVID E. ROBERTS
New York

(The New York Times, *in its obituary of Ickes on February 4, 1952, supports Mr. Roberts's recollection of the quotation, as did* Current Biography *in 1941. We used Joseph Barnes's recent biography of Willkie as our source for checking Mr. Werner's memory. In a footnote Mr. Barnes explains that the phrase "a simple barefoot boy from Wall Street" was borrowed from a column written by Jay Franklin.)*

AN INFURIATING ARTICLE

To the Editor: After reading Anzia Yezierska's deeply moving story "The Lower Depths of Upper Broadway" (*The Reporter,* January 19), I am prompted to ask how long the public will tolerate the "hand in glove" relationship between greedy politicians and greedy landlords. This is certainly not a matter of political partisanship. The Legislature in New York, and for that matter anywhere where such injustices occur, should enact laws with teeth in them to protect people against such outrages.

IRVING HABERMAN
Newark, New Jersey

To the Editor: "The Lower Depths of Upper Broadway" was to me an infuriating article. Despite all the "anti-slum crusades," the distressing, degraded conditions depicted by Miss Yezierska seem to be increasing in the large cities of our land.

Our country fights Communism throughout the world; fights subversion within its own borders; is the main world citadel of democratic freedom—yet it permits the exploitation of millions of its own citizens by ruthless "pro-slum" interests!

How can we effectively combat Communism in the United States if people such as the landlords Miss Yezierska describes are permitted to create and maintain the very atmosphere in which Communism (to name only one evil) can grow and flourish?

HAL J. MARTIN
San Jose, California

UNTIL PROVED GUILTY

To the Editor: May I compliment former Attorney General Francis Biddle on his trenchant article " 'Ethics in Government' and the Use of FBI Files" in the January 5 issue of *The Reporter*? What he said may have been said by others, but surely it could not have been said better.

However, since his thesis affirms the principle that a man should not be accused of crime unless proof of guilt is offered, it was unfortunate that he referred to Harry White as he did in the following sentence: "We must not let our judgment be obscured by our natural distrust for this sorry crew—White and the rest of them."

By referring to my brother as one of a "sorry crew" and by including him in the group for whom he states there exists a natural distrust, is he not guilty of the very same injustice he finds so repugnant in Attorney General Brownell's actions?

Harry White took no refuge behind the Fifth or any other Amendment. He appeared before a Congressional committee at his own request and denied in a most convincing manner that he was or ever had been a Communist or ever near to being one or that he ever transmitted any information to a Russian spy ring. He was cleared of all such charges by the grand jury in New York in 1947.

Furthermore, in your reference to Mr. Biddle's article in "Who-What-Why," you say: "We are all tired of reading about Harry Dexter White; we must never tire of defending our civil liberties." If the latter statement is true, as true it is, then how can you, in the same breath, utter the former statement? Surely, if there is any logic in Mr. Biddle's brief, its corollary must be that the White affair must not be shelved until his accusers either prove their charges or retract them.

NATHAN I. WHITE
Brookline, Massachusetts

A VOTE FOR SAND

To the Editor: In Marya Mannes's review of André Maurois' *Lélia: The Life of George Sand* (*The Reporter,* December 22) she states that until this book came along "the world and this writer had known only the headlines about a woman called George Sand." While the statement may be true of Miss Mannes, the world has been better informed. Without consulting catalogues, to my own knowledge two excellent biographies of Mme. Sand have been published in this country: *George Sand: the Search for Love* by Marie Jenney Howe (John Day, 1927) and *The Life of the Heart—George Sand and Her Times* by Frances Winwar (Harper's, 1945). The first book contains a bibliography of eighty items; the second lists almost two hundred books or papers. The world seems to have known about Mme. Sand.

Miss Mannes selects the term "verbal diarrhea" to describe one of the qualities of a writer who depended, after all, upon her books for her livelihood and about whose second book Sainte-Beuve wrote: "It is the work of a true novelist. . . . The author has the key to the human heart, the creative gift. The name of George Sand conceals a master."

Upon the basis of a few observations on nature quoted from Mme. Sand's work by Mr. Maurois, Miss Mannes, disagreeing with the many eminent critics who for more than one hundred years have been reading the Sand volumes, finds that the samples do not spell genius.

MIRIAM LERNER FISHER
Escondido, California

RIGHT AND LEFT

To the Editor: As one of the Tokyo readers of *The Reporter,* I naturally was delighted to read "Japanese Labor Unionism" by Ruth Barrett in your issue of November 24.

I must say, though, that the critical emphasis on the right-wing Socialists and the glossing over of the Left is a bit irritating. Much mention is made of Komakichi Matsuoka, who retired from the labor movement in 1952, and nothing is said of Minoru Takano, leader of Sohyo [the Federation of Labor], who learned his Communism in 1922 when he began work as an organizer for the Young Communist League.

Really, to call the left-wing Socialists men who follow "Gandhi-type passive resistance" is too much for me. The Left Socialist Party is a class-war party whose policies for the past year, under Sohyo drive, view Soviet Russia and Red China as "peace powers" and the United States as the "seat of aggressive war." Further, while Mrs. Barrett deplores the perfectly natural "nationalism" of the right-wing Socialists, she has said nothing about the rotten, morbid racism of the Left Socialists and their revival of the worst of Tojo's propaganda. It is not the Right in Japan that is rabidly racist and nationalistic but the Left! Mosaburo Suzuki of the Left Socialist Party is the closest ideological twin to Hideki Tojo I have yet found in Japan. If the Right is to be played up, let us also look closely at the Center and the Left and have a better balance.

But on the whole I enjoyed reading Mrs. Barrett's story and compliment you for publishing it. Her remarks about police chief Amis of SCAP delighted my soul. Really hit the nail on the head!

RICHARD L-G. DEVERALL
AFL Representative in the Far East
Tokyo

PLEASE FORWARD

To the Editor: This is addressed to my fellow *Reporter* readers. What do you do with the opinions this magazine helps you formulate? Why not convert your opinions into action?

Have you sent them to your Representative or state legislator? It has been said that "the only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing." If those of us who know better don't speak out, who will? Let's.

JOHN J. SAEMANN
Danville, California

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HARLAN CLEVELAND

Who Speaks for Europe?

THE SUBJECT at Berlin is Europe. The Soviets will have a say; so will we, and so will the British, who don't like to think of themselves as Europeans. But who speaks for Europe?

France was supposed to be the spokesman for Europe, but Georges Bidault, balancing on the rickety scaffolding of Paris politics, has only a limited mandate to speak for France. Konrad Adenauer, who is clear as to what should be said, is restricted to the prompter's box. The other Europeans wait outside.

Europe is mute because it is divided. The Soviets want to keep it that way. Their aim at Berlin is to prevent the union of Europe by paralyzing Germany. Our aim is to see Europe reach a degree of unity.

The Eisenhower Administration is saying that our principal objective in Europe is to get some German soldiers into the NATO defense system via the ratification of the European Defense Community (EDC); failing this, we'll agonize awhile and maybe pull out of Europe. This diplomacy, the first part of which Eisenhower and Dulles inherited from their predecessors, seems out of touch with the needs of western Europe and out of line with our own announced military strategy.

THE NEW LOOK in U.S. world strategy calls for "instant retaliation" if the Kremlin goes too far. We'll fight local aggression in places and with weapons of our choosing.

This "bombs over Moscow" approach to preventing Communist expansion has its limitations outside Europe. Local aggression in Indo-China or Burma or Iran, especially if it is engineered partly from within, cannot really be stopped by threatening to set the world on fire. But when it comes to aggression in Germany, the threat of retaliation works. It had been working for five years before Mr. Dulles announced it on January 12.

In Europe, we have warned the enemy and reassured our friends that there is no such thing as limited aggression. We have deliberately put our six-division "plate-glass window" out there in front of western Europe's industrial jewelry. How badly do we need, behind the American plate-glass window which we must leave in Germany anyhow, another plate-glass window composed of German troops?

There is already, for the first time since 1946, an equivalence of military power which both sides have tacitly acknowledged. There has been no settlement, no formal "peace." Yet no single country is increasing its military spending this year over last year, and many are reducing theirs. In these circumstances, should the ratification of EDC and its twelve German divisions decide whether we stay in Europe or get out?

The undeclared *détente* makes it possible, for the first time since Korea, to devote our energies to other ways, political and economic, of spurring the unification of Europe.

A dismal fact about Europe is still its sluggish rate of economic growth. No matter how many divisions stand east of the Rhine, Europe will remain pitifully weak if, while the Soviet Union adds five or six per cent to its national income each year, the western Europeans don't exceed their average of two per cent a year.

That "common market" which Paul Hoffman proposed in 1949 is still what industrial Europe needs as a climate for more rapid expansion of its output. The Schuman Plan is already a successful working experiment in running a common market under the supranational coal-steel authority. The "next steps" toward economic unity are no mysteries. They have been studied already by hundreds of experts: a common market for farm products, a common control scheme for foreign trade and monetary policy, eventually a common budget for defense. Once these basic needs are satisfied, each European nation can still enjoy a large measure of self-government.

This is, moreover, a process to which we can contribute something besides periodic exhortations. We can assure Europe's access to our own big market. We can also provide the foods and other agricultural products which even a unified Europe will lack—and which we seem to have in embarrassing profusion.

IF THE THREAT of instant retaliation continues to work, the Kremlin will rely even more on its favorite tactics of subversion. But while the Russians have been learning about nuclear physics, we have been learning something too. We have learned, in Berlin and the rest of East Germany, that prosperity and political independence on our side of the Curtain are fatally disruptive to the totalitarian discipline on their side.

But western Europe's prosperity is not likely to subvert many east Europeans if we talk and act only on military matters, if we place so many eggs in the EDC basket that we are literally left with no alternative except to withdraw behind the English Channel and the Pyrenees if it isn't ratified.

The whole idea of "alternatives to EDC" has been discussed too long as if it were a question of alternative ways of recruiting German troops. We hope the EDC gets ratified. If it doesn't, some other road to unity must be found.

Until that road is found, we will have to do much—too much—of the worrying and speaking for Europe.

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West Germany: 'If America Fails Us—'

CHARLES W. THAYER

As might have been expected, Secretary Dulles's threat of an "agonizing reappraisal" of American foreign policy raised an angry protest in France, the nation at which his remarks were directed. In Germany, however, there was no corresponding jubilation. Not that the Germans don't enjoy seeing Washington pin Paris's ears back—quite the contrary. Yet despite Germany's amazing economic prosperity, despite Adenauer's strong political position, those Germans who have a real appreciation of their own vulnerability are fearful, deeply fearful, of Dulles's words.

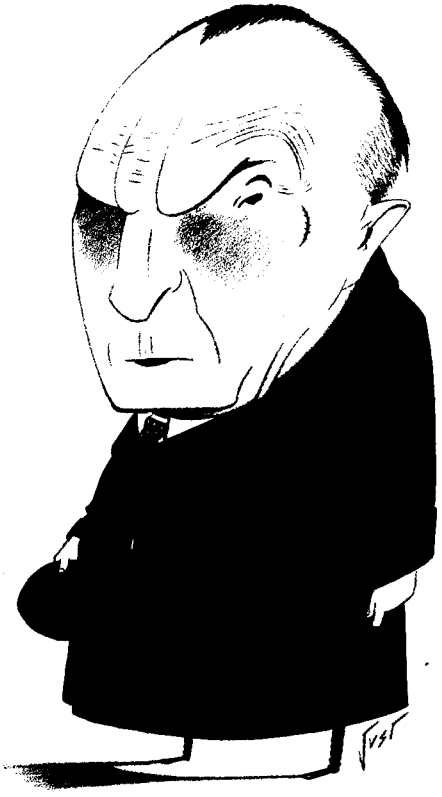
In Bonn, there is little outward evidence of this fear. Deputies are still bustling about the newly refurbished and enlarged Bundeshaus as briskly as ever. Their expressions are still as earnest as before. Their briefcases still bulge with weighty documents. But their gait seems to lack the old bounce. Their faces reflect frustration rather than the enthusiasm of before. They carry their briefcases as though they were full of dead weights instead of plans for a brave new future.

I asked a Deputy why this was so.

"And why not?" he retorted almost angrily. "When you left two years ago what were we debating? The defense and contractual treaties, the Saar, and reunification with East Germany. And what are we debating today? The treaties, the Saar, and reunification. Eighteen months ago we signed the agreements giving us back our sovereignty and pledging ourselves to share in western defense. Have we sovereignty or defense? No. Paris hasn't ratified, it says, because we have not yet won France's confidence.

"Four months ago in the elections we wiped out every radical element of which the Allies were afraid. Even so, we haven't noticed any sudden burst of progress in Paris!"

A foreigner who knows the Germans well said: "They remind me



of a schoolboy who has just won a good race and is looking around for his prize. He has lots of applause but no medals and he's getting just a little bit frustrated and angry."

How serious is the frustration? A high American official declared: "We're heading toward a crisis in the next few months. It's either ratification of the treaties soon, or chaos."

Politics and Prosperity

Konrad Adenauer won the elections of September, 1953, for reasons winners and losers alike agree on. First, the average German is pleased with the economic prosperity he has enjoyed under Adenauer. One of the most effective vote getters in the campaign was fat, pink-faced Professor Ludwig Erhard, Adenauer's Economics Minister—symbol of prosperity and happiness to the average voter. Second, Adenauer promised he would get Germany sovereignty, security, and even, perhaps, reunification. There were, of course, other good reasons for his victory. Adenauer had American support, and alliance with the world's greatest power is a welcome novelty in Germany, whose history is a dreary story of bets on warhorses that turned out to be spavined. Furthermore, the Germans, like voters elsewhere, prefer a resolute, stubborn, strong man who seems to know where he's going. These are traits that Adenauer has demonstrated in profusion.

"The British fired me as Mayor of Cologne after the war because I was too stubborn," he told me. "It's the greatest favor they could have done me. Otherwise I'd probably still be in Cologne."

But prosperity was undoubtedly the chief reason for his success. The German worker, as Adenauer's Socialist opponents readily admit, is earning more than he ever has and the shops are filled with goods he can buy with his pay. He no longer considers himself a proletarian with nothing but chains to lose, and he wants no truck with any experiments in socialization or nationalization. Even "the solidarity of the working class," a slogan born in Germany, is ringing a little hollow in the workers' ears. A leading Socialist labor leader said to me: "The worker no longer feels an intense need for his

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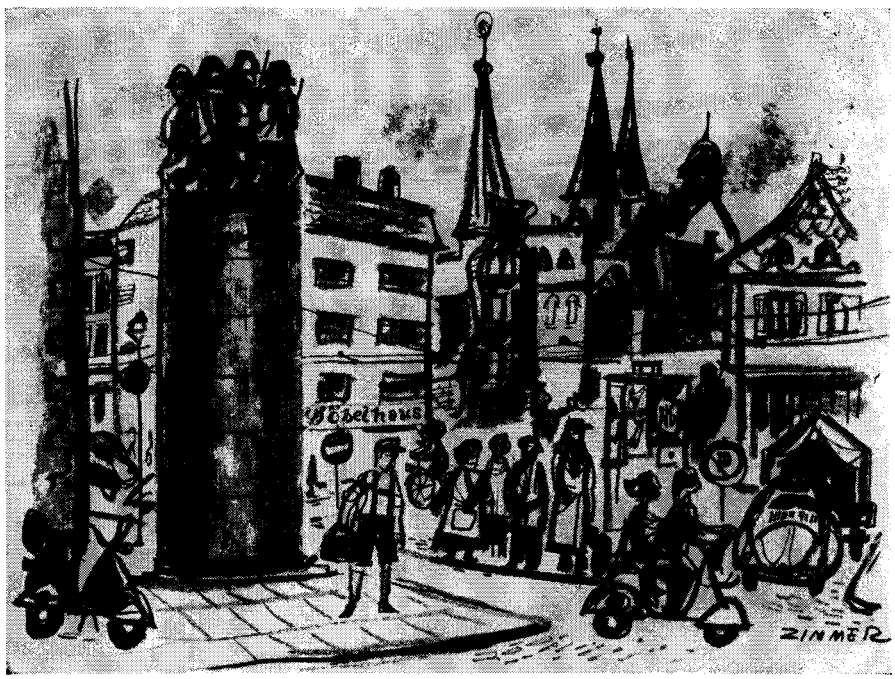
labor union or the loyalty to it that he did. Now that his pay envelope bulges, he considers his union just another layer in the bureaucracy and his dues as just another tax." Probably for this reason the Socialists lost about half the German labor vote to Adenauer's party.

ANOTHER significant development is that as the voters' essential economic wants have been taken care of, they are paying more and more attention to politics. Now that they know where their winter overcoats are coming from, the political apathy that worried the American re-educators in the early postwar years is giving way to a genuine interest in national affairs. And it seems to be a discriminating interest. Politicians tell me that their constituents are saying: "Don't tell us which party to vote for. Just give us the facts and we'll decide for ourselves." Although many more people—especially young people—are voting, there have been no corresponding increases in dues-paying party memberships.

This self-confidence is reflected in their attitude toward foreign affairs. Nine years ago the Germans were quite prepared to admit they were second-class democrats who had blotted their copybooks so badly in the 1930's that they deserved to

be treated as political incompetents. But today that attitude has all but disappeared. When they watch the procrastinations of the French Parliament or the antics of American Congressional investigators, they begin to wonder if, comparatively speaking, they were so bad after all. Many of them reading a news dispatch from Paris or Washington have shaken their heads and said to me: "But this is where we came in."

When the war ended, there was much talk of twenty years of occupation of Germany, and the Germans were meekly prepared to accept it. Today they are saying: "Already nine years have passed and we still have a High Commission and occupation. It is absurd. It is trying our patience too far." They now consider themselves as equals in Europe; and although Allied control has been reduced to the vanishing point and occupation is in fact nothing more than defense, they want their equality formally and legally acknowledged by the promptest possible ratifications of the contractual treaties and the European Defense Community.



The New Coalition

These are some of the moods Adenauer is encountering as he faces his second term. They are only moods as yet and healthy, natural ones for the most part. With his overwhelming parliamentary majority, the Chancellor is probably quite capable of coping with them, provided the prosperity that won him the election holds out. When his victory was first announced, many politicians and foreign observers predicted that the old man would take advantage of his strength to extend his harsh and often despotic sway over the Federal government apparatus. His curt dismissal of State Secretary Otto Lenz and his somewhat tactless repudiation of his promise to Heinrich Brentano of the Foreign Minister's post lent color to the prediction.

Probably within what he regards as his own private domain, the Christian Democratic Union, Adenauer will continue to be the sole boss—and a rather tough one at that. But when, after the elections, he started negotiations with his coalition partners in other parties outside the "family circle," his manner changed abruptly. Instead of knocking heads together as predicted, he negotiated patiently and arduously with each party, trying to come up with a team that represented all members of the coalition and their leaders. One of those same leaders told me later: "If he'd told us all to go to hell and had chosen a Cabinet as he saw fit, the whole German people would have cheered him."

Why didn't he? Maybe the old fox knows only too well how quickly the cheering can turn to sour disapprobation, and how important it is to have partners in his Cabinet who cannot desert him if he runs into trouble. But what trouble can he be anticipating with a flourishing economy and a stronger political position than any Chancellor since Bismarck?

There are, of course, areas of difference with some of the minor coalition parties. The Free Democrats, for instance, are beating their drums for no compromises on the

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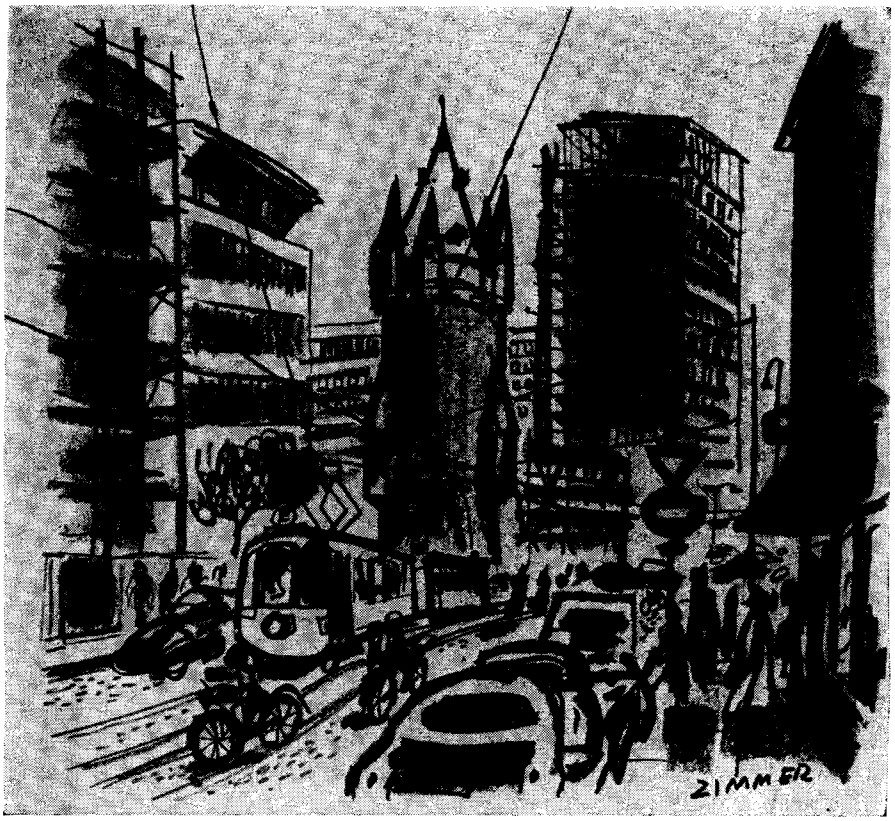

Saar. "It's always been German and it must always stay German," Thomas Dehler, the outspoken F.D.P. leader, said to me. Waldemar Kraft, the canny leader of the Refugee Party, professes to have no outstanding differences with the Chancellor since his somewhat spectacular leap from anti- to pro-EDC just before the elections. However, it is not so certain whether the interests of the refugees of his party and the native West Germans of Adenauer's party will always be as easily reconciled as he suggests.

The C.S.U., Bavarian counterpart of Adenauer's Christian Democratic Union and one of the strongest parties in the coalition, currently has its nose badly out of joint because its relative strength has not been reflected in its Cabinet representation. It is also angry, and with good reason, because Adenauer continues to treat it like a somewhat obstreperous younger brother—in contrast with the attitude he has adopted toward more distantly related parties.

ON MANY internal issues the new coalition will undoubtedly be more difficult to handle than its predecessor, which, constantly threatened by an almost equally strong Socialist Opposition, had to stick together. With the Socialist vote substantially reduced, the coalition partners may consider that they can afford the luxury of intramural squabbles. But in larger issues, internal or external, that might affect the stability of the Government, none of the coalition is likely to desert to the Opposition, if only because a Cabinet seat and the title "Herr Bundesminister" are not lightly relinquished honors in Germany today. Furthermore, for a rightist party to line up with the Socialists in Opposition is a form of political acrobatics that may appeal to a Frenchman but not to a German. There is, in other words, no place for the Right coalition parties to go if they don't like Adenauer's leadership. In the Bundestag, therefore, short of a major catastrophe the Chancellor's majority seems safe for another four years.

The same is true of his position in the Bundesrat, the upper house representing the several provinces. Unless Adenauer takes it into his head to push centralization too far, especially in the realm of economic administration, he is unlikely to encounter any major opposition from the Länder. Just to make sure he doesn't push them around too much, the leaders of Bavaria, North Rhine-Westphalia, and Baden-Württemberg have organized their own private "axis"—and Adenauer will doubtless heed the warning.

Time the Inexorable

Where, then, are the potential troubles that are making Adenauer's followers so fearful? They are not in Bonn—or in Munich or Düsseldorf—but in Paris and Washington. "If the EDC is not ratified soon," half a dozen Deputies told me, "public opinion is going to swing away from Adenauer."

How soon is soon?

"Six to nine months," they will tell you.

And if Paris refuses to ratify by then, what alternatives are there?

A look of anguish comes over their faces. "Please, let us not discuss alternatives," I was told most emphatically in the Chancellor's office.

Well, what if public opinion does swing? The next elections are four years off.

"At the September elections we defeated the radicals both on the Right and the Left with the promise of sovereignty, security, and continued prosperity. But remember that the woods are still full of radical wild men who are just waiting to take advantage of our failure to deliver on those promises."

But surely the German people aren't going in for any radical solutions just to win sovereignty *de jure* which they already have *de facto?*

"We Germans want our sovereignty recognized legally and we see no reason for Allied High Commissions or occupation troops as such which might choose to fight at the Iron Curtain or on the Rhine or in the Pyrenees. We want a European army in whose direction we have a share."

And you believe that the German worker is willing to risk his full dinner pail and bulging pay envelope just for a chance to join a European army?

"Of course we want economic security. But we want military security too. Besides, you never know just how long our dinner pails will stay full or how soon unemployment may start eating into our pay envelopes.

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We're hearing a good deal of talk about cutbacks in American spending. You Americans may be able to afford a recession, but we can't."

THIS INDEED is the crux of Adenauer's potential troubles: economic recession. Failure to ratify the EDC alone would probably not be fatal to Adenauer's régime—at least for four years. Somehow palli-

atives or even alternatives could probably be found within the confines of a Franco-German stalemate to keep the Chancellor in power, provided the economic boom held up. That, however, is a very big proviso, particularly considering that continued prosperity may well depend on orders and contracts for the equipment of a European army. No EDC, no orders; no orders, no prosperity; no prosperity — then what?

Germany's economy is only five years old. In the period since currency reform few enterprises or individuals have put aside enough reserves to tide them over a recession. "We have a Rolls-Royce economy," Vice-Chancellor Blücher once told me. "It's fine on the Autobahn but it's no good when the going gets rough. What we need is a Jeep economy."

Furthermore the German economy lives on raw materials acquired in exchange for exports. The slightest decrease in foreign orders will almost instantaneously be translated into shutdowns, layoffs, and unemployment. The steel workers of Solingen are already experiencing just such a setback. The ceramics industry is also suffering from lack of foreign orders. "The first industries to go under in any general setback," Kraft of the Refugee Party said to me, "will be the refugee industries. And what will that do to refugee morale?"

What is particularly unnerving to the Germans is that their prosperity is so heavily dependent on what others do elsewhere. If Washington cuts down its support of a given country, it may hurt Germany every bit as much as it hurts that country. "If you reduce your spending just a few per cent," a high official in the Chancellor's office said to me, "markets all over the world on which we depend will begin to dry up."

Germany's very success in exporting much more than it imports has now led to trouble. Already Germany's balances in the European Payments Union are so big that its European neighbors are reluctant to continue buying in Germany. Brazil and Turkey are greatly overextended in their debts. Others are approaching the same situation.

"Ratification of EDC is only part of the problem," one particularly able politician said to me. "What worries us more is the signs that America is cutting back its foreign aid. That could be fatal."

Echoes of Rapallo

But if these fears come true and the markets in the West dry up, what are your alternatives? I asked.

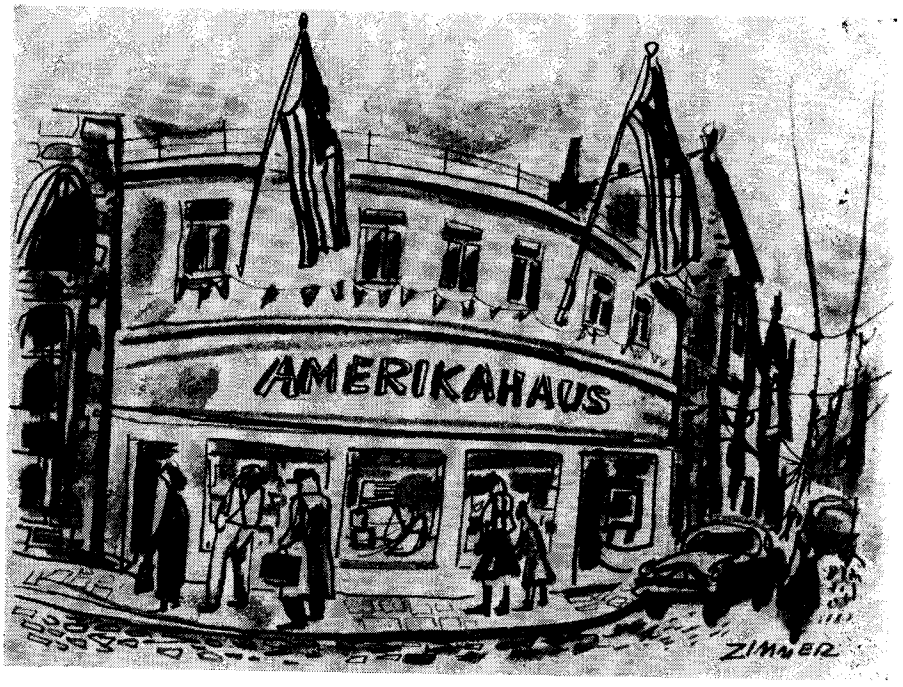
At this point politicians of Government and Opposition alike seemed to recoil a little. For some reason, they refused to let their minds—or perhaps just their tongues—probe the future realistically.

"If America fails us," they said a little lamely, "we must undertake our own Point Four program in cooperation with the rest of Europe in Africa, the Near East, and Southeast Asia. We must extend the Coal and Steel Community to include all other commodities—a European tariff union. One mistake we shall never repeat is to let the men of the Ruhr turn to the East for markets."

But Europe hasn't the capital for long-term Point Four programs, and if the Defense Community is stymied, what chance has a trade community?

A few Germans are bold enough to discuss the horrid prospect. Many industrialists have pleasant memories of lucrative trade with Russia in the 1920's. The Ruhr magnates' support of Hitler was not their first mistake and, I was told, not their last. Of course, as long as they can find markets elsewhere they will carefully avoid antagonizing their American friends by talking of eastern trade.

When I was stationed in Bonn, I once heard and passed on to the Chancellery a rumor that a certain world-famous steel firm was planning a deal with a satellite country. Within a few hours a large Mercedes-Benz with a Düsseldorf license plate rolled up to my office and the owner of the firm, accompanied by two of his managers, got out and came in to



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me to protest most vigorously that the rumor was untrue. Whether the owner protested too much is hard to say, but it is well known that his father had made a killing selling steel to Russia after the First World War.

If markets dry up and the gentlemen of the Ruhr are faced with shutting down plants and laying off workers, they will have powerful arguments for a "little deal" with the East. It will only be a trade deal —no politics involved, they will tell you. But so was Rapallo, which started the Russo-German honeymoon of the 1920's. So, in fact, was the trade agreement that paved the way for the Stalin-Ribbentrop pact of 1939.

THERE CAN be no doubt that both Adenauer's coalition Government and the Socialist Opposition would fight such a "little deal" to the last ditch. Any competent observer will tell you that the politicians in power in Germany today are as sincere in their opposition to the Kremlin as they are devoted supporters of the West. And the German voter is as bitterly anti-Communist as any in Europe today. But faced with unemployment and hunger and stirred up by "wild men" talking of broken promises of sovereignty, security, and reunification, who can guarantee that he will not falter as he and others have done before?

Unless someone makes a move that starts a world recession, Adenauer's prospects for the next four years are as bright as any European politician's can be. But as Washington goes ahead with its plan for reduced military spending and less aid, it had better be very certain that such a cutback will not start a recession in the free nations.

East Germany:

The Date Is Still June 17

NORBERT MUHLEN

THE PEOPLE'S REVOLT against the Communist rulers of East Germany did not end when order was re-established by Soviet tanks last June. It is still smoldering, and the Communist rulers have not yet found a way to put it out.

"The clock of the times seems to have come to a standstill," an East German working girl wrote last November in a diary later published in the west Berlin daily *Der Tagesspiegel*. "Outside my window, the seasons are changing. But inside, inside me, everything is unchanged: June 17. And not only inside me." On June 17 the people of East Germany found themselves no longer isolated by their fears of each other but united in their opposition to the régime. They also discovered that they could oppose the régime. That discovery still dominates their daily life.

THE EAST GERMAN rulers have tried very hard, of course, to make their people forget what happened last June. The "new course," as it has emerged since the summer of 1953, has involved both more whips applied at the backs of the people and more carrots dangled in front of their noses.

Within a few weeks a new group of whipmasters was given the job of liquidating the memories as well as the leaders of June 17. The secret police was taken from Wilhelm Zaisser, the previous Minister of State Security, and handed over to Ernst Wollweber, who had previously been in charge of the Comintern's underground activities on international waterfronts. In this capacity he had earned a widespread reputation as a cold-blooded killer.

At the time of Wollweber's appointment, Minister of Justice Max Fechner had already been arrested. Fechner, a former Social Democrat, had made the mistake of suggesting after the events of June 17 that a strike for better working conditions was not necessarily a crime. His job was given to Hilde Benjamin, East Germany's most fanatical advocate of punishing whole sections of the population for ideological crimes. In perfect teamwork, Wollweber's secret police tracked down those who participated in the strikes and riots, while Benjamin's "people's judges"—reliable Communists with no legal training except a six-week course for "class-conscious jurists" — followed her order "to apply the most extreme penalties of class justice against the saboteurs and fascist agents."

In the first four months of this new justice, 422 people were sentenced to death or long terms at hard labor. Two-thirds of them were workers or farmers. Max Schlittchen, a worker in Bitterfeld, was sentenced to three years at hard labor by the District Court of Halle because on June 17 he had called for the election of a strike committee in his factory. When his lawyer appealed, the East German Supreme Court decided that a new trial was to be held, not because Schlittchen's sentence was too severe but rather because, the Supreme Court held, he was guilty of "treason committed in conspiracy" and thus liable to a hard-labor term of five to six years.

The number of those tried publicly was large. But the number of those who were arrested and disappeared without trial was still larger. According to conservative estimates, this was the fate of at least seven thousand people. There are reliable reports that they were sent to the

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Soviet Union on special transport ships, presumably so they wouldn't be seen crossing Poland in trains.

Defiance, Disobedience

To step up the Communist purge program and to make it look like a spontaneous demonstration of the people's will, pressure was applied last November on factory crews, farmers' co-operatives, students' classes, and other groups to find "agents and saboteurs" in their midst and to denounce them in public. Factory crews were encouraged "to use the proletarian weapon of strikes to enforce the arrest of traitors."

"Show more courage to be frank and clear!" demanded an editorial in *Forum,* the Communist students' weekly. "Has the behavior of every student on June 17 already been investigated and cleared?" The paper sorrowfully concluded that it had not. When a "provocateur" who had joined the workers at a strike meeting on June 17 was exposed at a plenary meeting of the Dresden School of Dentistry at which he was enrolled, the paper informed its readers, "not a single student came out against this enemy of our people, nobody found a word of contempt for this creature." Two weeks later, "after the case had been continuously discussed in the classrooms, the students still refused to denounce their comrade, and abstained when they had to vote on his expulsion from their school." He was arrested by State Security agents anyway.

Despite threats and actual terror, the "denounce-your-neighbor" order has met with general disobedience. Among the refugees arriving in west Berlin, the proportion of East German People's Police has increased markedly since last June. In one month, from July 27 to August 27, 513 People's Police asked for asylum. Some measure of the degree to which the régime has lost control appears in the fact that policemen and industrial workers are now fleeing in greater numbers than the shopkeepers, farmers, and "capitalists" who had made up the bulk of the refugees before June 17.

According to an official report of the Communist East German Federation of Labor, from thirty-five to forty-five per cent of its members ceased to pay dues after June 17, many "lost" their membership books and then didn't apply for new ones, and quite a few left the organization in open protest. Half of the positions in the middle and lower levels of the Ministry of Domestic Affairs were unfilled in the fall of 1953 because the incumbents had either been fired or had resigned. The S.E.D. (Communist) Party was hit even worse: By the end of 1953 the purge of "class enemies and June 17 traitors" had reduced party membership in the most proletarian east Berlin districts—such as Friedrichshain and Lichtenberg, which are inhabited almost exclusively by industrial workers—to such an extent that seventy per cent of the membership consisted not of workers but of Communist government officials.

LIQUIDATION of the June 17 leaders has served to provoke new resistance and produce new leaders. Eyewitnesses from numerous towns and cities in East Germany report that factory crews have protested against the arrest or unexplained disappearance of their fellow workers by sit-down strikes, slowdowns, and mass

absenteeism. In dozens of large factories and on construction lots where Soviet propagandists were sent to enlighten the workers about the true background of June 17, their words were drowned out by the German equivalent of booing—shrill whistling. In other cases, the workers simply walked away from the lectures en masse.

This new mood of defiance was also demonstrated by the number of East Germans who crossed over last summer to west Berlin to receive American-donated food packages. The Communists made it an offense to accept western food packages and some of those who did were arrested, but the East Germans kept right on crossing over to west Berlin, enjoying—as several of them told me—their own disobedience almost as much as the food.

Strength Through Joy

The punishment of the unjust was to be balanced by rewards for the just. "A better, new life" was said to be just around the corner, and orders came down from the highest levels that wholesome joy was to enrich life under Communism. "People's festivals" were organized in the course of which the party faithfuls paraded through the streets in droll costumes. For example, people who were identified as "the barons and fascists who rule America" jitterbugged up the main street of one town. For the first time in years, Christmas fairs were permitted, although the crèches, wax angels, and toy animals were replaced by toy soldiers, tin Soviet stars, and other progressive paraphernalia. The most daring innovation of the "new merriment" was public dances in which Soviet troops, who had previously been restricted to their barracks, came into contact with German girls. The high incidence of rape cast something of a pall over the jolly get-togethers, and when it was discovered that a number of Soviet soldiers were slipping away to pick up civilian clothes and disappear, the dances were abolished altogether.

"HE WHO OWNS the youth owns the future" is a favorite slogan of East German officials—a quotation taken over literally from the Nazis. Party propagandists complain that East German youth has not followed the party directive on merriment, and there is considerable bitterness among Communist officials about the youngsters' lack of interest in such healthy proletarian merriment as is produced by Chinese folk dancers and Russian choruses. They seem to prefer such degenerate amusement as jazz, American movies, and even just going off by themselves, a girl and a boy together.

In 1949 and 1950, after talking

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with East German students and young workers, I reached the conclusion that maybe fifteen or twenty per cent were devoted Communists. Three years later these percentages would be far too high. Students of East German universities—which State Secretary of Higher Education Gerhardt Harig has called "the military academies of the class war"—are required to attend daily classes and pass examinations in Communist political science if they want to continue their studies. "Whatever the field of study," according to Harig, "our main subject is the fight for the Marxist dialectical materialist school of thought against the claptrap of the decadent West, such as the so-called idealist philosophy." The reaction to this intellectual regimentation takes whatever form it can. A seventeen-year-old boy smiled with pride when he told me that he was reading Schiller in secret. He regarded it as an act of defiance against the Government. And he was right. A student of philosophy was recently sentenced to three years at hard labor for reading and then encouraging another student to read Ignazio Silone's latest novel.

There has been a considerable religious revival among the youth of East Germany. The *Junge Gemeinden* ("Young Communities"), in which both Lutherans and Catholics participate, were branded early in 1953 as "camouflaged western espionage organizations." But they continue to be so popular, especially since last June, that the Government has decided to go easy on them.

Behind the Show Window

But the material hardships of life under the Communists are almost as important as the spiritual in explaining the disaffection of East German youth.

Just after June 17, when five million food packages from America were distributed in west Berlin to East Germans, Soviet propaganda opened all stops in praise of the food being sent to East Germany from the gallant Soviet allies—tea from China, butter from Russia, oranges from Bulgaria, and so on. I did indeed see these goods in east Berlin; it was in the show windows of the two food stores located on Stalin Allee, the imposing avenue which is itself the show window of a city which is in turn the show window of East Germany. Inside the two shops, however, the goods in the window were not all for purchase; and in more out-of-the-way neighborhoods of east Berlin to which foreign visitors and official delegations are not invited, I could not even find the imported delicacies in the windows. The best food stores in east Berlin could not compare with an ordinary neighborhood delicatessen in west Berlin. This sort of news gets around.

On the whole, the supply of consumers' goods has not improved since last June, when it was at its worst. Communist Party boss Walter Ulbricht admitted to the thirteenth convention of the Communist East German Federation of Labor that

the 1953 production of underwear fell short by six per cent, the production of textiles by 9.6 per cent, the production of shoes by 15.1 per cent. This is on the basis of the old goals, which were set before the "new course" promised even better supplies. Complaints about unusable shoes, spoiled food, and flimsy textiles in the state-owned H.O. stores indicate that the actual supply of consumers' goods is even less satisfactory than the figures Herr Ulbricht mentioned.

In the sphere of production goods the situation is worse, according to the same official sources. Only 65 per cent of the heavy machines planned for 1953 were produced. The shortage of electric current cannot be explained only by the lack of *Stromdisziplin* ("discipline in the use of current"). There is now a "potato crisis" in East Germany, which once supplied potatoes for all Germany.

The number of unemployed in East Germany has risen from 390,000 in 1949 to 1,027,000 in 1953, out of a total working force of about eight million. Nominal rises in the incomes of those who were gainfully employed did not keep up with the rise in price level. Except for Communist Party functionaries, the fifty Heroes of Labor, five hundred Meritorious Activists, one hundred and fifty Meritorious Inventors, and members of the two hundred Brigades of Highest Quality, most East Germans are not able to make ends meet. Their general standard of living is approximately 40 per cent below the West German level. To buy a shirt in the H.O. stores, where legalized black-market prices are charged, sets a worker back 30 Eastmarks out of an average monthly income of 250 Eastmarks, while in West Germany a shirt (of somewhat better quality and chosen from a considerably larger variety of styles) costs from 8 to 12 Deutschmarks out of an average monthly income of 280 Deutschmarks. The discrepancy is even larger in such goods as shoes, cigarettes, coffee, and women's clothes. There is not much difference in apartment rents and the prices of furniture, but the housing shortage is much worse in East Germany than it is in West Germany.

On the whole, workers in West Germany are well fed, fairly well housed, and satisfactorily dressed, while the East Germans are almost universally ill fed, ill housed, and ill clothed. This sort of news gets around, too.

'We Love Our Jailers'

That nothing but Soviet troops and tanks keep the East German government in power became so evident in the critical test of June that the Soviet propagandists themselves were obliged to admit it.

In a booklet called "Berlin in June," which I bought at an east Berlin newsstand last fall, I noticed a curiously revealing statement that an East German youngster is alleged to have given an inquiring reporter: "When I rode to work on the morning of June 18, passing the trucks with Soviet soldiers, when I saw many of them being overcome by tiredness after a sleepless night and sleeping in uncomfortable positions, I was ashamed. Ashamed that we ourselves were not able to finish off the

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fascist hobgoblins. Ashamed that so many among our toiling masses were deceived! What must our Soviet friends now think of us!"

The cover of the booklet showed a Soviet tank rumbling along a ruined street and resembled the reports of the uprising which were sold in west Berlin. But only four pages of the east Berlin pamphlet dealt with the revolt itself, while twenty-eight pages were devoted to expressing the deep gratitude of the East Germans to the Soviet occupation soldiers "who had liberated them once again from fascist arsonists."

ACTUALLY, demands for the departure of the Soviet troops were not prominent among the slogans of the June rebels. Neither were demands for reunification of East and West Germany. Yet the one demand that was heard over and over again—for free elections—was closely tied up with both of the unvoiced demands. Everybody knows that free elections, which would surely produce an anti-Communist majority of as much as 90 per cent, could only take place after the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

People remember the past all too well: As early as 1946 so-called free elections were held in the Soviet Zone in which the Soviet Military Administration (SMA) ruled all candidates off the ballot if they showed any reluctance about being Communist puppets; nine hundred tons of paper were allotted to the S.E.D. (Communist Party) for the campaign literature, but all the other parties together got only nine tons. In the elections which have been held in East Germany since 1950, make-believe was abandoned. In October, 1950, the first "People's Parliament" was elected, and 99.71 per cent of the people's votes were counted for the Communist-controlled ticket—surpassing even Hitler's triumph of 98.81 per cent in the 1936 total. Only one slate of candidates was offered and immediate reprisal was threatened against anybody who tried to vote "No" or merely wanted to vote in the promised secrecy of a booth. East Germans find it difficult to take seriously the "free, secret, and general elections" that the Soviets say they are willing to have held simultaneously in East and West Germany as a first step toward unification.

IN EAST GERMAN eyes, reunification is hallowed mostly because it implies freedom from Communism. According to refugees with whom I have talked, the European Defense Community is considerably more popular in East Germany than it is in West Germany. Several refugees told me that although they had been lifelong Social Democrats, they would not vote for their party in West Germany because it opposed Germany's participation in the European Defense Community and seemed to lean toward neutralization of all Germany between the two great power blocs. They are convinced that only the massed military power of the West can keep alive any hope for the people they left behind in the East.

For the East Germans, joining the West means principally a chance to share the West's better way of life. For them the rewards of reunification seem personal rather than nationalistic. They know that they can only partake of the political and material well-being their West German neighbors enjoy if they can somehow get free of Soviet rule. This liberation can be effected, they think, by one of three developments: The first would be war; the second, a new, victorious uprising in East Germany; the third, a peaceful showdown in which the power of the western bloc, including West Germany, would force the Soviets to negotiate a retreat which today they still feel too strong to accept. Most East Germans understand that Chancellor Konrad Adenauer of West Germany is banking on the third possibility.

The Reunification Ritual

Reunification is thus a means to an end rather than the end itself for East Germany. The end, despite all the oratory to the contrary, is not entirely popular in West Germany. Last June when I asked people in cafés and on the street if there was any news from East Germany, they all assumed that I was a refugee; only a refugee could be so interested in the uprising. The West Germans were much more interested in the fight for the soccer championship in west Berlin than in the fight for national liberation in east Berlin. *Christ und Welt,* a Lutheran publication in West Germany, protested against this callousness, but not many others did.

Thinking about reunification has just as much to do with living standards in West Germany as it does in East Germany. It's the other side of the coin. People who only five years ago were close to starvation, often without shelter, jobs, or hopes; are better off in 1954 than they have been for years—and they suspect that merger with the im-

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poverished eastern third of the Fatherland would cost them a great many of their material comforts. They feel that Chancellor Adenauer's program of integration with the West offers a better promise for their security—from war as well as from hunger—than any other program, and in particular than that of national unity. They have less to fear from continued division than from an uncompromising program of reunification.

The attempt of a group of west Berliners led by the influential newspaper editor Erich Reger to substitute the term "irredenta" for "East Germany" has fallen flat; people simply don't want to entertain the idea that East Germany is an amputated and enslaved part of their own country. By now it seems almost a foreign country.

Of course, the public pronouncements of all the politicians are uniformly firm in their insistence on national reunification. With the single exception of Walter von Kube, chief commentator of the Bavarian Broadcasting Network, an *enfant terrible* who specializes in saying out loud what everybody else thinks in private, everybody talks very solemnly about reunification. It has become a ritual. If reunification were really as important to the West Germans as they say it is, they could have come closer to it some time ago simply by showing that they were ready to pay the price the Russians ask—the neutralization of Germany. But I have not found anybody in the present Government coalition, least of all Konrad Adenauer, who is willing to pay that price. The elections last September showed that the large majority agrees with him.

The Microcosm

If the West Germans now feel closer to the West than to their brothers in the East, it is also true that the East Germans often feel closer to other peoples oppressed by the Soviets than to their prosperous, relatively secure brothers in the West. The same wish for liberation prevails in East Germany that prevails in Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary. (Uprisings took place in several large Czech factories simultaneously with the uprising in East Germany last June.)

Divided Germany is but an accurate reflection in miniature of the divided world. The two most powerful ideas of social and political organization exist side by side in Germany: They measure their strength and appeal, challenge each other, claim the future. The democratic experiment and the totalitarian experiment are being tested in the laboratory of Germany under almost equal conditions. No matter how it is measured, the totalitarian experiment of East Germany falls incomparably shorter of its goals than does the democratic experiment of West Germany, faulty as the latter may still be in many regards. The freedoms that prevail in West Germany—doubly cherished after the Nazi past and against the background of the Communist present—have produced results which the dictatorship of East Germany has not produced, despite its claims.

Where people can see the comparative values and achievements of both systems as clearly as they do in Germany, particularly in Berlin, they have none of the doubts that seem to afflict some of those who live farther away from the laboratory. The superiority of the West over the East is accepted by the German people as absolute.

What West and East Germans have in common is an understanding that reunification is not a strictly German matter but depends on the progress of the world-wide contest between East and West. The Iron Curtain divides not just Germany but the whole world.

Germany is a testing ground for the reunification of the whole world. For Germany to be put together again, either the United States would have to give up its policy of resisting the expansion of Communism or the Soviet Union would have to give up its policy of expanding Communism; the Soviet Union would have to sacrifice a satellite it now holds as well as the hope of using it as a basis for expansion toward and future rule over western Europe; the United States would have to give up the defense of the community of free nations—a community to which the West Germans feel they belong.

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McCarthy, Hunt, And Facts Forum

The following article has been excerpted from a series that appeared in the Providence Journal, *entitled "The Facts About Facts Forum."*

HAROLDSON LAFAYETTE HUNT, of Dallas, Texas, is quite possibly the richest man in the United States. This would be of little more than routine interest were it not for the fact that thirty-two months ago Hunt created a tax-exempt organization that has since become a nationally powerful force in the molding of public opinion.

This organization, called Facts Forum, is, according to Hunt, a nonpartisan project designed to educate the American people politically, with strict rules against carrying on propaganda or attempting to influence legislation. Except on the issues of Communism and soil conservation, Hunt insists, Facts Forum has no opinions of its own.

Although an ever-widening group of close observers considers this claim increasingly difficult to justify, it is still accepted by the Federal government, the broadcasting networks, and a large segment of the public. Facts Forum has accordingly obtained a Federal tax exemption both for its expenditures and its contributors; it receives more than $5 million worth of free radio and television time annually; and it has recruited 125,000 people who take a direct part in its activities, plus an untold silent audience.

On the same basis of alleged nonpartisanship, Facts Forum has established a nation-wide free circulating library of twenty thousand carefully selected volumes, a monthly house organ with a sixty thousand circulation, and a public-opinion poll, the results of which it sends out to 1,800 newspapers, 500 radio stations, and every Member of Congress. Finally, it has organized dozens of local chapters, which carry on regular discussion sessions based on information from headquarters in Dallas.

In recent months, Facts Forum has concentrated its energies on its radio

Hunt

and television shows, the time for which is donated by the networks. Its Mutual Broadcasting System radio show, "State of the Nation," and American Broadcasting Company television and radio show, "Answers for Americans," have both been favorably reviewed by impartial critics. Facts Forum also films a thirty-minute interview program in Washington, which it sends free to fifty-eight television stations, and is now considering taking on an MBS half-hour radio program, "Reporters' Round-up."

The favorite of the Hunt broadcasting stable remains the namesake radio program "Facts Forum," which is carried on 222 stations. This program, moderated by a former FBI agent named Dan Smoot, is the Forum's principal exhibit for its claim to nonpartisanship.

Giving 'Both Sides'

In one Facts Forum program Smoot presented "both sides" of the question "Should we continue to handle Korea as a limited police action?"

The first part of the program was devoted to the arguments for the affirmative. Here the schoolmasterish views of General Omar Bradley and the relatively unemotional words of Adlai Stevenson were used. "Korea," Stevenson was quoted, "is the most remarkable effort the world has ever seen to make collective security work. In choosing to repel the first armed aggression of the Communists, we chose to make bitter sacrifices today to save civilization tomorrow . . ." The other arguments in favor of handling Korea as a police action were similarly moderate in style and tempo.

Then Facts Forum presented "the other side":

"It is a strange war for a man who has been taught to love the American flag but who now finds himself fighting under a blue flag representing a world organization of which his enemy, the Soviet, is a member. . . It's called a United Nations' police action, but the United Nations' only noticeable contribution is the policy of appeasement which keeps the Americans from winning . . .

"It's cold up here in the winter—sometimes 30 below zero. If a boy cries his tears turn to ice. And then there is the enemy, always the en-

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Zoll

Jean Kerr McCarthy

Wood

emy. Joe can feel him out there in the blackness, and sometimes he can hear him. And sometimes when a star shell bursts overhead, he can see him—not one, but thousands, moving relentlessly forward . . .

"Presently, the third assault wave starts . . . [and] then it is the kind of fight that man fought centuries ago; knives and fists, fingers groping for eyes, and teeth seeking a soft spot in the neck. Maybe Joe will die in the slit trench, and maybe he will live—his hands sour and gummy with half-digested rice gruel ripped out of the stomach of a bleeding bundle of rags and bones at his feet . . .

"Korea: Police action or war? A question for all Americans! This is Dan Smoot for Facts Forum."

A study of other Facts Forum presentations of "both sides" indicates this to be fairly typical of its approach to national issues—an approach involving the following factors:

¶Facts Forum usually lumps in one camp the liberal, moderate, and conservative views, "the other side" being the extremist Right.

¶In arguing for what it says is the viewpoint of the liberal-moderate-conservative side of an issue, Facts Forum uses a subdued, dryly rational style. In arguing for what it calls "the other side" it uses highly emotional, inflammatory language.

¶Facts Forum presents what is often a fair and factual description of the liberal-moderate-conservative side. Then, in presenting its version of "the other side," it devotes much of its time to charging the liberal-moderate-conservative element with appeasement, subversion, and treason.

Misgivings

Many eminent public figures have expressed their full support of Facts Forum. Hunt can now boast of such national officials as General Robert E. Wood, chairman of the board of Sears, Roebuck; General Albert C. Wedemeyer; Governor Allan Shivers of Texas; and John Wayne, the Hollywood actor.

But the increasing number of demurrers is unusual for a "nonpartisan educational" enterprise. Senator Estes Kefauver, who appeared in one of the first Facts Forum television broadcasts, later said, "I wish I knew then what I know now about that organization." Senators Paul Douglas and Warren Magnuson, who appeared on early Facts Forum shows, declined when asked to make subsequent appearances. The pattern has been increasingly repeated as word of Facts Forum's *modus operandi* has spread.

THE FACTS FORUM radio and television programs almost seem models of objectivity when compared with the less guarded views expressed by this tax-exempt "nonpartisan" institution in other media.

These more frank views are expressed not only in the monthly *Facts Forum News* and other pamphlets, but in the choice of books for the Forum's free circulating library, in the recommendation of such books as urgent reading, in the payment of certain people for letters they have managed to get printed in the newspapers, and in the use of a public-opinion poll which Facts Forum admits is not objective but merely an attempt to "focus attention" on what Hunt, Smoot, *et al.* deem national questions.

The most often criticized aspect of Facts Forum's educational activities is the reading program it suggests to participants. When the Forum began in June, 1951, with anti-Communism as a basic part of its creed, it was perhaps natural that it should have in its original six-book library four books exposing the operations of the Communist Party. However, the remaining two books, which presumably expressed Facts Forum's range of ideas on American society, were Clarence Manion's *The Key to Peace* and Joseph Kamp's *We Must Abolish the United States.*

The Key to Peace attacks "the tyranny [of] unrestrained majority rule," but in any comparison of the two books Manion emerges as something akin to a liberal. Joseph Kamp, who operates the Constitutional Education League, has been indicted, convicted, and jailed for contempt of Congress after refusing to name the League's officers and contributors. He is the author of such books as *Hitler Was a Liberal* and *Behind the Lace Curtains of the Y.W.C.A.,* the latter charging the Y.W.C.A. with being a Communist-front organization. A noted anti-Semite, Kamp has frankly stated: "I pull no punches in exposing the Jewish Gestapo or any Jew who happens to be a Communist."

Facts Forum began its basic library, circulated free to members and used as source material for its broadcasts, with more than a hundred copies of Kamp's *We Must Abolish the United States,* a violently anti-United Nations work.

Later the Forum added another book to its library. This was *Iron Curtain Over America,* by Professor

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John O. Beaty of Southern Methodist University, of whom the highly respected Protestant magazine *Zions Herald* reported: "Beaty is a recent 'intellectual' addition to the lengthening list of outspoken bigots across the country, and his volume appears to be the most extensive piece of racist propaganda in the history of the anti-Semitic movement in America."

Under pressure of protest by the Anti-Defamation League, Facts Forum removed the Kamp and Beaty books from its shelves. But Facts Forum recently set its library humming again by mass distribution of *McCarthyism, the Fight for America,* by Joseph R. McCarthy, an old friend of Facts Forum.

In addition to distributing the McCarthy book unsolicited to the entire Forum mailing list, Facts Forum tells members how to obtain certain books it has used for research on the Forum radio show. Of these works for which specific instructions for acquisition are issued, eighty-five per cent express the isolationist, ultra-conservative point of view. Of the remaining fifteen per cent, most are government bulletins. Among the eighty-five per cent are:

America's Retreat from Victory—the Story of George Catlett Marshall, by Joseph R. McCarthy—a treatise in which the Senator contends that General Marshall's "every important act for years has contributed to the prosperity of the enemy."

The People's Pottage, by Garet Garrett, who describes the Roosevelt Administration as unconstitutional, subversive, and traitorous in needlessly involving the United States in war against Hitler.

Traitors in the Pulpit, by Kenneth Goff, whom the Anti-Defamation League lists as "a well-known bigot."

Wings for Peace, by retired General Bonner Fellers, who once said, "Hitler did Germany a world of good." Reviewing Fellers's book, which calls for withdrawal from NATO and the atom-bombing of China, the New York *Times* said: "The book has the faults of special pleading and opinion is sometimes tinted with prejudice." Facts Forum told its subscribers: "This book should be read soberly and thoughtfully by every American interested in the defense of the free world."

> From Section 101 of the Bureau of Internal Revenue Code: "The following organizations shall be exempt from taxation under this chapter . . . corporations, and any community chest, funds, or foundations, organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary, or educational purposes, or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals, no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual, and no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation."

Besides plugging such books, Facts Forum tells its members how to get their names on the mailing lists of several well-known national lobbies. One is the Committee for Constitutional Government, headed by Dr. Edward A. Rumely and described by the Anti-Defamation League as "a political propaganda organization of extreme right-wing orientation . . ." Another is Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council, whose tactics the Buchanan Lobbying Committee of the Eighty-First Congress has defined as attempts "to disparage those who oppose its objectives by appeals to religious prejudice, often an ill-concealed anti-Semitism."

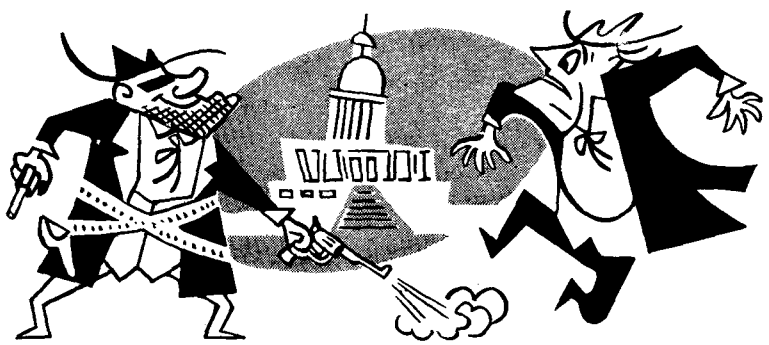
A year ago, when a Facts Forum unit was formed in the New York City church of Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, the first speaker to address the new group was Allen A. Zoll, whose anti-Semitic and racial agitation goes back before the Second World War. Zoll's American Patriots, Inc., is on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations as fascistic, and he was once indicted for trying to extort $7,500 from New York radio station WMCA in payment for withdrawal of a Coughlinite Christian Front picket line. In his speech, Zoll attacked the United Nations as a device to permit the colored races to rule the white races and charged that UNESCO was an alien conspiracy to teach sex delinquency to American schoolchildren. A protest to Dr. Peale from a parishioner brought only praise for Facts Forum. Last December, however, after additional pressure, Dr. Peale's name disappeared from the Forum Advisory Board.

A recent issue of the *News* gave its sixty thousand subscribers a list of seven citizens "having devoted much of their lives [to] keeping files on un-American activities." Facts Forum suggested that any subscriber having doubts as to the loyalty of any group or person should consult one of these experts, even though a small fee might be involved.

Among the experts listed was Carl McIntire, an erstwhile Presbyterian minister who has accused the National Council of Churches, which embraces most Protestant denominations, of pro-Communism, and has termed the Roman Catholic Church "a spy system through the priests, with the priests' first loyalty to the Vatican . . ." As far as is known, Facts Forum has never withdrawn its recommendation of McIntire or any of its other loyalty experts.

Hunting the Real Hunt

The man behind Facts Forum is one of the most obscure individuals among the rich men of the world. He broke his lifelong rule against personal publicity by announcing the formation of Facts Forum in 1951, but before that Haroldson Lafayette Hunt was unknown even to many citizens of Dallas. Hunt is not in *Who's Who in America.* In



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Menjou

Hart

Kamp

ten years there have been only two references of any length to him in national magazines. One magazine that tried to interview him gave up and almost did a story on the difficulties of seeing H. L. Hunt.

Hunt was born on a farm near Vandalia, Illinois. At the age of three, it is said, he could read and write. He had to leave the fourth grade to go to work. After working as a farmhand, a lumberjack, and at other odd jobs, he settled in Lake Village, Arkansas, to grow cotton and pecans.

Hunt was and is a gambling man. In Lake Village today they say that he won his first oil lease in a poker game—on a bluff. Thus, about 1920, Haroldson Hunt got the whiff of oil. By 1930 he had moved his operations to Texas and was doing moderately well, wildcatting around Van Zandt County, just east of Dallas, and Scurry County, 250 miles to the west. There he was on hand for the discovery of the two largest known oil deposits in the nation.

Hunt is a vigorous sixty-four, stands six feet tall, and has green eyes and gray hair. He still bets at the race tracks—with hundreds of dollars, and with the help of an employee who is a graduate statistician from M.I.T. His admiration for George Washington is reflected in his Dallas home, a five-times-larger replica of Mount Vernon.

Hunt is estimated to own $200 million worth of farmland in addition to his oil holdings, which are valued in excess of $500 million. He is said to be the largest grower of pecans in the world. He also has interests in gold mines, natural gas, and other properties. His gross income has been estimated at $200,000 a day, of which he can keep a larger than normal portion because of special tax exemptions for venture oil drilling.

THE GREAT DEPRESSION, during which Hunt made the bulk of his fortune, was a period which, he feels strongly, marked a deplorable tendency among his fellow Americans to demand welfare services from the Federal government. He feels that the Democratic Party, except for its Dixiecrat wing, is the instrument of socialism and Communism and that the Republican Party as presently constituted displays dangerously radical tendencies.

Hunt supported General MacArthur for the Presidency in 1948, and in 1951, after the General was ordered home by President Truman, Hunt accompanied him to Texas on a special plane. He again supported MacArthur for the Presidential nomination in 1952, but as a Texas delegate to the Republican Convention at the last minute switched his vote to Eisenhower.

Hunt is also a strong supporter of Texas' nominally Democratic Governor, Allan Shivers, who backed Eisenhower largely on the basis of the latter's promise to turn over the oil-rich tidelands to the states. When recently the Shivers state administration awarded tidelands leases, the biggest single awardee was H. L. Hunt, who received more than 100,000 acres at an average of $6 an acre. Others paid averages as high as $400 an acre. On fifty-nine of the sixty-five tracts acquired by Hunt, he or his agents entered the only bids. The Texas Land Commission had the power to reject such noncompetitive bids.

During the first—and relatively quiet—half of its life, Facts Forum spent about $200,000 tax-free dollars, and the Hunt family gave Facts Forum $219,000 tax-free dollars. There has been no report on what the current budget is, but in its second sixteen months of operations Facts Forum has expanded enormously. In the early months the Hunt family supplied more than ninety-five per cent of the listed contributions.

In a rare speech in 1951, H. L. Hunt described what he believed would be a struggle to the death in this country between two schools of thought—the far Right and the far Left. The "middle-of-the-roaders," as he called them, would amount to nothing. The fight will be, in Hunt's terms, between the Liberals and the Constructives—the latter being his favorite term to describe his own brand of conservative.

The Inevitable Ally?

In anticipation of this fight, it is not surprising that Hunt should enlist the aid of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. Perhaps the most persistent rumor about Facts Forum is that it is a tax-exempt device to use free radio and television time to promote the political views of McCarthy and his allies in Congress.

This has been denied by officers of Facts Forum. "I have no connection with Senator McCarthy whatsoever," Hunt has said. According to Robert H. Dedman, Hunt's lawyer and the president of Facts Forum, "Senator Joseph R. McCarthy . . . has no managerial, financial, or policy-making connections with Facts Forum."

It is true that Facts Forum has

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presented McCarthy in person only once, on its first television program. Also, there is no evidence of a direct financial connection between Facts Forum and the Senator. However, McCarthy *is* a personal friend of H. L. Hunt, at least three McCarthy aides were instrumental in organizing a Facts Forum television series, and there is evidence that McCarthy receives favored treatment in Facts Forum programs.

McCarthy met Hunt in April, 1952, during the crucial days of preconvention maneuvers in Texas. The Senator had been brought to Dallas for a speech under the sponsorship of the American Legion and the Citizens Non-Partisan League of Dallas. In co-operation, Facts Forum devoted part of its radio time to a build-up of the speech: "Facts Forum is pleased to announce," it said, "that everybody in the Dallas-Fort Worth area now has an easy opportunity to hear Senator McCarthy in person and make his own evaluation of him."

Before the speech, McCarthy was interviewed in the Dallas Athletic Club by reporters. The newspapermen were astonished when the publicity-shy H. L. Hunt stepped forward and personally asked them to stress the time and place of the McCarthy speech. That night, with Hunt in the audience, McCarthy was introduced for the Citizens Non-Partisan League by the chief moderator of Facts Forum, Dan Smoot.

In the fall of 1952, McCarthy and Hunt had another meeting, this time for dinner. They discussed the Senator's political situation and Facts Forum.

Shortly afterward, Miss Jean Kerr, then McCarthy's research assistant and now his wife, and Robert E. Lee, a close personal and political friend of McCarthy, went to work for Facts Forum. Their job was to organize the television project.

Hunt himself has admitted that McCarthy's recent bride "has done a great many things for Facts Forum," but has denied she was on the Facts Forum payroll at the time. "She and Robert E. Lee," Hunt said, "were instrumental in getting together the first Facts Forum programs, the television programs."

A playback of the initial Forum television program reduced Hunt's statement slightly below the level of a revelation. It began: "Hello there! This is Robert E. Lee, your Facts Forum moderator, speaking to you from our office in Washington, D.C."

As the program's approach became apparent to politicians in Washington—a group notably willing to submit to free television time—a chill began to set in. The combination of Robert E. Lee and Jean Kerr was not unknown in Senatorial politics.

MISS KERR had gone to work for McCarthy early in his Washington career. She helped write the housing brochure for which the Lustron Corporation paid the Senator $10,000, and in 1950 she helped to assemble the Senator's historic accusations about "205 Communists" in the State Department. Ultimately McCarthy ended up with eighty-one "cases," all eighty-one of which, it developed, were to be found in a list compiled three years earlier for the House Appropriations Committee

with the help of a former FBI agent named Robert E. Lee.

After the defeat in 1950 of Senator Millard Tydings, whose committee had dismissed the McCarthy charges, the names Kerr and Lee again cropped up. Senatorial investigators of the election later reported that there had been a "despicable 'back street' type of campaign . . . conducted by non-Maryland outsiders." The investigating committee found that contributions exceeding $27,000 had gone unreported, and that the outside contributions and expenditures were supervised by Jean Kerr and Mr. and Mrs. Robert E. Lee.

Miss Kerr, the committee reported, held a dinner in Washington to start the "outside" campaign going. A few days later, a $5,000 check for the Butler for Senator Club was delivered, in McCarthy's office, to Robert E. Lee, who promptly had it endorsed and placed in a Washington bank account under his wife's name. According to the committee, "A substantial portion of the funds was disbursed in connection with a postcard project . . . an activity originated and handled primarily by employes of Senator McCarthy and supervised by Mrs. Lee."

All this no doubt explains the hesitation on the part of anti-McCarthy Senators to accept the invitation of Miss Kerr and Lee to participate in a program which they were arranging and editing. Even Hunt eventually saw the need for a change. As Mrs. Meredith Harless, who later took over Jean Kerr's job with the Forum, has said: "When some people thought there might be some Facts Forum connection with McCarthy, they were dropped."

The hand of another McCarthy satrap also became apparent after Facts Forum started presenting TV interviews featuring various Members of Congress, Washington correspondents, and Moderator Dan Smoot. The man who started recruiting correspondents for this show was Victor Johnston, who had come to Washington as McCarthy's administrative assistant, and has recently become director of the National Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee.

One of Johnston's first requests among the Washington press corps went to Frederic W. Collins, Washington correspondent for the Providence *Journal* and *Bulletin*. Collins reported Johnston as offering $125 for the interviewing job and explaining that H. L. Hunt was ready to spend some of his fortune electing "our kind of guy." The resultant story in the *Journal* was picked up by many of the most respected newspapers in the country, but Facts Forum chose to reprint the New York *Daily Worker* version and send it to its entire mailing list.

The Facts Forum members apparently responded to the organization's efforts to produce a conditioned reflex of alarm at the mere mention

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of the word "Communist." The next issue of *Facts Forum News* was forced to give a further explanation to those who "have written us deploring that the *Worker* and Facts Forum have joined hands."

GUESTS on the Facts Forum radio program have praised Senator McCarthy without stint, and there is no record of any criticism of the most controversial figure in contemporary American politics. Adolphe Menjou, during his appearance on "Facts Forum," said of McCarthy: "I think he is one of the greatest Americans who ever lived and I place him right alongside of Paul Revere, and the day will come when he will be completely justified and the word 'McCarthyism' will be a word of honor instead of opprobrium."

In presenting "both sides" of an issue Smoot frequently interposes irrelevant praise of McCarthy or attacks on his critics as part of one side.

In June, for example, in a discussion of Germany, the McCarthy fight against Harvard and Dr. James Conant was interposed with the statement that Conant had so little understanding of Communism that he could say in 1953 when he left Harvard "that there were no open or disguised Communists at Harvard . . . Dr. Conant . . . has a long and eminent record of supporting New Deal Socialism in America."

ALL THIS is done as "a public service," on a tax-free basis, in the name of "nonpartisan" political education for the American public. If the question of granting free network time to an organization conducting partisan propaganda should be asked the Federal Communications Commission, which controls all American broadcasting, it would come before seven commissioners, one of whom was saying several months ago:

"Hello there! This is Robert E. Lee, your Facts Forum moderator . . ."

Lee was the second McCarthy-sponsored man to be appointed to the FCC in 1953. The first, John Doerfer, was appointed with the approval of both Wisconsin Senators. Lee, whose only radio-television experience has been on Facts Forum, was appointed by the White House, reportedly with the help of Senator Styles Bridges and Vice-President Richard M. Nixon.

When former President Truman made a reference about "McCarthyism" in a television speech, Senator McCarthy demanded free television time to reply. "McCarthy has scare value and we're scared," an NBC executive admitted, asking that his name not be used. McCarthy eventually was offered a half-hour by all the major networks. The Senator then said that if any local station which had carried Truman did not carry him, he would complain to the FCC. The general public which saw this printed in the newspapers may have considered it a routine threat, but the operators of radio and television stations, whose licenses must be renewed by the FCC each year, must have thought of Commissioners Lee and Doerfer.

Recently, Facts Forum's sponsor, H. L. Hunt, made a personal application in competition with others for a television channel in Corpus Christi. He was permitted to change his application and then get an uncontested channel by the FCC, with the supporting votes of, among others, John Doerfer and R. E. Lee.

Two Kinds of Slavery

Even where McCarthy and the domestic anti-Communist issue are not directly involved, Facts Forum seems to adopt an extension of McCarthy philosophy and McCarthy techniques in presenting the "conservative" side on its radio program. Once, discussing the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, Dan Smoot argued dryly against the bill by naming a group of liberal Senators and labor unions who had opposed its passage, and then presented the other side: "Those who want to destroy the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act . . . want to flood America with people who have been drenched by the Socialist propaganda of eastern Europe—people who would swell the tide of Socialist votes in our great industrial centers . . ."

The "conservative" side of other arguments has assumed the same tone. On the issue of compulsory fair employment practices (FEPC), Facts Forum's "anti" argument included the following:

"Remember that the Negroes, when first brought to America by Yankee and English merchants, were not free people reduced to slavery. They were merely transferred from a barbaric enslavement by their own people in Africa to a relatively benign enslavement in the Western Hemisphere . . ."

ALTHOUGH Facts Forum is generally to be found in the same camp as the so-called "conservative" viewpoint that it presents as "one side" of an issue, this "conservative" viewpoint is not necessarily static. In discussing democracy, for instance, Dan

Johnston

McIntire

Rumely

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Smoot once said: "One of the best indications of how far we in the United States have slipped is the wide contemporary use by practically all of our intellectual and political leaders of the word 'democracy' to designate our system . . . The American Founding Fathers knew, and Jefferson said in specific terms, that a democracy is the most evil kind of government possible."

Not only had the United States slipped, but so, apparently, had Facts Forum. In its early months it had announced: "Democracy is a political outgrowth of the teachings of Jesus Christ . . . Christianity was essential to the creation of our democracy." Again, in defining Facts Forum's creed, Moderator Smoot, in the early, slipping days of Facts Forum, said: "We in Facts Forum know that American democracy . . . is still the most nearly perfect expression ever made by man in legal and political terms of a basic ideal of Christianity."

Possibly a special guest on a Forum broadcast, Arthur L. Conrad, had in the meantime been persuasive enough to reverse Facts Forum's stand on democracy. In arguing that public schools are in the grip of subversion, Conrad told a Facts Forum radio audience that in one textbook he had in mind, "the United States is not referred to as a Republic—it is a democracy. Well, you see, Mr. Vishinsky talks about democracy. Mr. Acheson talks about democracy. Mr. Nehru talks about democracy."

ONCE A FORUM program discussed the question of whether advocating the overthrow of the government by force should be punishable by death. Smoot's main argument against the death penalty was not based on the theory that such a sentence might be too severe, but instead on the theory that the wrong people would be executed: "The real, subtle, accomplishing influence of Communism is achieved not by the card-carrying members of the party or by the publicly known fellow travelers, but by people in the lunatic fringe which surrounds the party," Smoot announced.

This, of course, was just "one side" of a nonpartisan Facts Forum program. The other side argued that *all* Communists *should* be executed.

Photos by Wide World

Lee

Robert E. Lee, Federal Communications Commissioner and onetime employee of Facts Forum, is an old hand at testifying before Congressional committees. Back in 1951, he appeared before the Senate Rules Committee to try to explain the role he and his wife had played in the 1950 Butler-Tydings campaign in Maryland. He finally summed it up: "I was kind of a delivery boy."

This January he testified before a Senate committee again, this time regarding his confirmation as a Federal Communications Commissioner. During the hearings Senator Smathers asked him what his reaction would be if a U.S. Senator should come to him and say, "I want this particular party to have a grant, and do not want that other party to have a grant."

Mr. Lee was quick to get the point. "Senator McCarthy had nothing to do with this appointment," he said. "Senator McCarthy is a friend of mine. I like him. I think he is a great guy . . . and I don't think that he would ever presume to ask me about anything pending before the commission."

About a year ago Senator McCarthy intervened very actively with the FCC in behalf of the Hearst radio interests, which were then applying for a new TV channel in Milwaukee. In fact, he took the unusual measure of summoning two FCC Commissioners to his office, putting them under oath, and making stenographic records of his interrogation of them. One later said: "If that transcript were made fully public, decent people would be up in arms. The proceeding was as if a member of the Judiciary Committee were instructing a judge how to act on a pending case."

On another Facts Forum program, Smoot presented, as part of one side of a "debate" on book burning:

"If you spent your own money to send books abroad, you might elect to send a copy of John T. Flynn's *While You Slept* or of Garet Garrett's *The People's Pottage,* in order to show how a great free Republic (America) can be debauched, betrayed, and possibly destroyed by an international criminal conspiracy working among power-hungry politicians, subversives, apathetic ignoramuses, and soft-headed do-gooders at home . . ."

Smoot has written, as part of Facts Forum's creed: "I think that the great villain of the 20th Century is neither Mussolini, nor Hitler, nor Stalin, nor Malenkov, nor the hydrogen bomb. The 20th Century threat to civilization is an idea—the idea of collectivism . . . Some of the best people of good will in our time are right out in front, trying to lead the world toward the uniform conformity and idiocy of collectivism. Witness Dr. James Conant . . . criticizing the idea of private schools . . ."

Letters to the Editor

As part of its "education" program, Facts Forum pays out hundreds of dollars each month to individuals who manage to get their letters printed in newspapers. These payments are regularly reported in *Facts Forum News.* Readers in Dallas, Texas, for instance, have had many opportunities to examine letters by a J. McCarthy, 1348 Highland Road, Dallas (presumably no blood relation to J. McCarthy of Appleton, Wisconsin).

The Dallas McCarthy wrote decrying President Truman's intervention in Korea. He has also attacked New Dealers and Fair Dealers, high income taxes, Social Security, Dean Acheson, the United Nations, and "international giveaways." These letters happen to coincide with the opinions of H. L. Hunt, although presumably McCarthy holds them sincerely, as he has a right to do.

What most readers of J. McCarthy's letters did not know, however, was that Facts Forum paid him for writing them. McCarthy, whom *Facts Forum News* has identified as "a dirt contractor by trade," received close to six hundred dollars in the

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first fifteen months of Facts Forum's operations. To be precise, Facts Forum gave him an electric blanket and $594, including three hundred dollars for a song to the tune of "Buckle Down, Winsocki" ("Wake us up, Facts Forum, wake us up; We can win, Facts Forum, if you'll wake us up"). In addition, McCarthy formed a neighborhood Facts Forum unit, which then received an additional two hundred dollars from Dallas headquarters.

Facts Forum explains its payment for printed letters on the basis that this encourages citizen participation in public issues. Facts Forum has paid for some letters contrary to the views of its backers, but of the 193 letters whose texts have become public, the overwhelming majority express extreme right-wing views.

About twelve per cent of the letters, which won awards totaling $596, were on nonpolitical subjects. Of the remaining $4,069 spent on letters reprinted to date, $3,630 went for isolationist, anti-United Nations, pro-McCarthy, or ultraconservative economic views, and $439 for opposing views.

When the one-sidedness of these payments attracted some attention, Facts Forum announced that from then on the payments would be equally divided between what it called "Liberal" letters and "Constructive" letters. But this system, apparently, was soon abandoned. In November, 1953, Facts Forum announced payments of $295 for ten letters, all of them expressing Hunt's views. In December, 1953, it announced payments of $360 for eleven letters—$275 for nine pro-Hunt letters, $75 for one anti-Hunt letter, and $10 for one nonpolitical letter.

The Loaded Poll

The write-for-remuneration policy is closely related to still another facet of the Facts Forum "educational" program, since the letters sent to newspapers are, at Facts Forum's request, on subjects current in the Forum "public opinion poll."

Each month Facts Forum mails out 120,000 postcards with poll questions on them. It admits getting only one out of ten back, but the results are faithfully tabulated and incorporated in a news release which goes to 2,300 newspapers and radio stations and to all Members of Congress. The news releases refer to it only as a "public opinion poll," and various legislators on Capitol Hill evidently accept it as such. Poll re-

sults have been inserted in the Congressional Record by, among others, Senators George Smathers of Florida and Homer Capehart of Indiana.

In the *Facts Forum News*, however, the poll is described not as a cross-sectional survey—which most editors, radio newsmen, and Congressmen would assume a "public opinion poll" to be—but as a poll of "informed" opinion, i.e., that of Facts Forum participants.

A few of the poll questions appear matter-of-fact. Many do not. Once, for example, Facts Forum asked: "Are internationalists less tolerant of Communism than the average citizen?"

This places "internationalists" in some questionable relationship to Communism. More important, perhaps, it is impossible to answer the question either way without agreeing that "internationalists" are different from "the average citizen."

SCIENTIFIC STUDENTS of public opinion like Elmo Roper must wince at such questions. In 1946, Roper experimented to see how much he could change the response to the same question by using emotional words. In one question, asked of identical cross-sectional groups, he substituted the word "propaganda" for the term "our point of view." He changed the result by 50 per cent.

In many Facts Forum poll questions, emotional words automatically suggest a particular answer (italics added):

"Should we promptly negotiate a *stalemate* peace?" Answer: 82 per cent "No."

"Is Socialism as *dangerous* to freedom in the U.S. as Communism?" Answer: 78 per cent "Yes."

"Should the President have the power to *begin war?*" Answer: 94 per cent "No."

"Have Communistic activities in Japan and the Philippines *decreased* since General MacArthur's removal?" Answer: 85 per cent "No."

"Is the federal payroll large enough to *endanger freedom* in America?" Answer: 83 per cent "Yes."

Actually, such loaded questions may not even be necessary. Once Facts Forum asked the perfectly straight question "Are all men created equal?" Members voted 53 per cent "No."

The Pact with Sears

One other facet of Facts Forum's activities would seem worthy of note, and that is its mutual admiration and benefit pact with Sears, Roebuck, which in reality appears to be a pact between H. L. Hunt and General Robert E. Wood, chairman

WAS HE TALKING ABOUT FACTS FORUM?

Representative Carroll Reece, speaking in the House on July 25, 1953, in support of his proposal to investigate tax-free foundations:

"The assets of the large foundations are tax exempt and, therefore, ought to be spent on projects and organizations representing the views of all the people and not only of a segment dedicated to a specific ideology. . . .

"In the realm of the social sciences many foundations have not observed the highest standards of scholarship and ethics, which require the presentation of only factual and unslanted materials. In fact, the want of ethics and the misrepresentations of some foundations are so low that a business corporation doing the same thing would be condemned by the Federal Trade Commission and held guilty of false advertising."

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of the Sears board of directors. Wood, who supported the America First Committee before we entered the Second World War and who now supports Senator McCarthy, is a national adviser to Facts Forum, but his connections with Hunt go beyond that. In 1952, Wood served as honorary chairman of an organization called Americans for America, which spent more than $50,000 for the benefit of ultraconservative Republican candidates all over the country. The biggest single contributor to Americans for America was Hunt.

In recent months, Wood and Sears, Roebuck have emerged as ardent supporters of Facts Forum. Sears has sponsored the basic Facts Forum radio program on the Texas Quality Network, which includes six stations in as many Texas cities and one in Shreveport, Louisiana. Sears, Roebuck has also placed placards advertising the Facts Forum show in at least fifty-five of its stores, and has paid for ads in Facts Forum throwaway leaflets.

Despite a clause in the Facts Forum constitution which states that "none of its property or earnings shall ever inure to the benefit of any private individual," H. L. Hunt has found a way to repay General Wood. One issue of *Facts Forum News* quite frankly stated: "It is very appropriate that Sears, Roebuck should be sponsoring Facts Forum. For Sears, Roebuck and its mail order business is as American as the town hall meeting itself. Since Sears, Roebuck is helping us in our fight to overcome apathy and indifference, it might behoove us to express our appreciation and friendship for Sears whenever possible." How to express such appreciation was left to the sixty thousand *Facts Forum News* subscribers.

THESE, THEN, are the widely varied activities of an organization that derives its tax-exempt status from its claims of being "nonpartisan" and "educational." It may be questioned if Facts Forum meets the test of these claims, considering that it presents "impartial" radio debates in which forcefully expressed right-wing views are contrasted with more moderate opinions held by responsible national leaders; that Facts Forum has avowed its own faith in such extremist views; that Facts Forum's national circulating library contains a plethora of books that express the same views; that Facts Forum has attracted known racial agitators; that Facts Forum circulates a poll of loaded questions to an already loaded membership, and then passes out the results as news releases; that Facts Forum subsidizes letters to editors at the rate of nine to one in favor of isolationism, McCarthyism, and ultraconservative economic views; and that Facts Forum has gone out of its way to aid a private merchandising corporation whose chairman supports its activities.

The League of Women Voters of the United States has never been able to obtain a clear tax exemption because it takes stands on national issues, though never on candidates. Facts Forum, which spends more than the national organization of the League of Women Voters, not only has obtained a tax exemption for itself and its contributors, but also enjoys more than twenty-five thousand station-hours of free radio and television time each year to present its views. Facts Forum's explanation of its status is quite simple. Its own regulations state: "No substantial part of the activities of Facts Forum shall ever be carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation."

MORE IMPORTANT than the Forum's favored tax position, however, is its basic effect on public opinion, which effect must include an increase in group hatreds and in suspicion of national leadership, Republican as well as Democratic.

Two years ago, Facts Forum broadcast a warning to Americans when Moderator Dan Smoot read what he identified as words uttered by Lenin thirty years before: "We will win the Western World for Communism without shedding a drop of a single Russian soldier's blood. How? . . . We will create fear, suspicion. We will work inside by creating national hatreds, religious antagonisms. We will pit father against son, wife against husband. We will inaugurate campaigns to hate Jews and hate Catholics and hate Negroes . . . We will frighten them. We will create political chicanery. We will confuse international diplomacy. We will do these things."

1,456? 2,200? If Either, What?

DOUGLASS CATER

FOR NEARLY three months Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., and his associates in the security enterprise, notably Civil Service Commission Chairman Philip Young, have resisted every effort of reporters to get behind the impressive totals of "security-risk dismissals" announced so repetitiously by the Eisenhower Administration.

Back last April, Brownell drafted for the President Executive Order No. 10450, setting up the new "Security Requirements for Government Employment." Its most notable departure from the earlier Truman order was that it largely did away with the distinction between those whose loyalty was questioned and those who were regarded as bad security risks for a variety of generally nonpolitical reasons and extended a revamped security program to all government departments. It further provided that the permanent employee whose security was in doubt should be accorded a hearing by a panel drawn from employees of other agencies than his own.

The New York *Times*, among

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others, approved. "The practical effect of this change," it editorialized on April 30, "is that henceforth an employee dismissed from Federal service under the security program does not necessarily bear the onus of disloyalty to his country." The order was widely hailed as a sign of maturity in this nation's treatment of its internal security problems. Aside from a few scattered criticisms, mainly by lawyers actively involved in defending security cases (who questioned the order's vagueness), the general attitude was one of hopeful expectation that henceforth security would be handed effectively and quietly.

LATER ON, apparently, the compulsion to make loud noises was overwhelming. At a National Security Council meeting early last October, Civil Service Chairman Philip Young was asked to provide a figure of how many persons had been dismissed as security risks. Young, who under Executive Order No. 10450 was not required to make an evaluative report on the security program until late November, sent out a hurry call to all the agencies. On October 23, James C. Hagerty, the President's Press Secretary, called in White House reporters and announced the results: "During the first four months' operation of the Employees Security Program . . . 1,456 Government employees have been separated from Federal service."

Contagious Demagogy

Whatever the reason prompting this announcement (nowhere in Hagerty's statement was it mentioned that "security" no longer necessarily implied disloyalty), it soon became evident what its political use would be. Perhaps the most blatant example was Governor Thomas E. Dewey's December 16 speech at Hartford, Connecticut, when he declared: "The Democrats are . . . afraid that the American people will discover what a nice feeling it is to have a government which is not infested with spies and traitors. In less than eleven months the Department of Justice has discovered and dismissed 1,456 security risks planted in the government of the United States under Democrat Administrations." Senator Joseph McCarthy was even more specific about the figure. "The new Administration has now gotten rid of 1,456, all of whom were security risks, and practically all of whom were removed because of Communist connections and activities or perversion," he told a television audience. On another occasion he fixed the total of Communists *and* perverts as more than ninety per cent.

Brownell

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER himself did little to correct the impression of a Federal bureaucracy rife with treason. On December 2 he volunteered to his press conference: "I repeat my previously expressed conviction that fear of Communists actively undermining our government will not be an issue in the 1954 elections. Long before then this Administration will have made such progress in rooting them out under the security program developed by Attorney General Brownell that this can no longer be considered a serious menace. As you already know, about 1,500 persons who were security risks have already been removed . . ."

At a later conference, Washington *Post* reporter Edward T. Folliard tried unsuccessfully to pin him down on this figure. The press-conference transcript shows the following exchange:

Q. "Without going into any figures, Mr. President, are you in a position to say that these people are not all suspected spies or potential spies or——?"

A. "Well, the word 'potential' covers so many things, Mr. Folliard, that I wouldn't—I would say this: They are discharged for a number of reasons, and not all of them have the word 'subversive' or 'disloyal.' It was a question of they were poor security risks, and I think they were poor security risks."

Washington Sphinxes

Reporters trying to determine whether our government had been infiltrated by spies, by sex perverts, or by drunkards ran up against a stone wall. The various agencies, apparently under orders, refused to give a breakdown of the figures. The usual evasion was that it would be impossible to distinguish between the various groups making up security risks—for example a man might combine drunkenness or perversion with Communism.

Perhaps Mr. Young had the most ingenuous—or disingenuous—answer when he told a reporter: "I, as a taxpayer, am not interested whether a person was discharged for being disloyal or for being a drunk, and I don't think the average person is. They just want to know that we are getting rid of this type of person on the government payroll."

Not being accustomed to accepting a government administrator's word for what the people want to know, some reporters persisted in their inquiry on the basis of the few clues provided by Hagerty's announcement.

One who dug more intensively than most, L. Edgar Prina of the Washington *Star*, found that the process of tabulating the 1,456 had been odd indeed. "The figure includes, it appears, persons who never were fired or forced to resign as the White House announcement implied," Prina wrote on January 3, "but who instead were separated through voluntary resignation, reductions in force—even by death—without ever knowing they had been accused of anything. A few apparently had left the Government before the Eisenhower security program was launched."

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How had the 1,456 been arrived at? Hagerty had said that 593 of them were subjects of unfavorable reports who had resigned. But at least part of these resignations fell into what might be called the General Telford Taylor category. Taylor, whose peculiar predicament became known recently after Senator Joseph McCarthy impugned his loyalty because there was a security "flag" on his Civil Service file, was a lawyer who left the government service in 1942 to enter the Army. There he rose to the rank of brigadier general, serving after the war as Chief of Counsel for prosecution of war crimes and later as Presidentially appointed head of the Small Defense Plants Administration.

One month after Taylor had resigned from that post in September, 1952, derogatory information was received by the Civil Service Commission (neither the Commission nor McCarthy has seen fit to reveal the nature of the information), which automatically caused a flag to be put on Taylor's long-dormant Civil Service file. This presumably would indicate need for investigation in the unlikely event that Taylor should ever desire to return to the government career service.

Taylor himself could not have been counted as one of Brownell's purgees, since he had resigned during the previous Administration, but evidently similar cases, in which there was unchecked information not known to the employees concerned, were on the list.

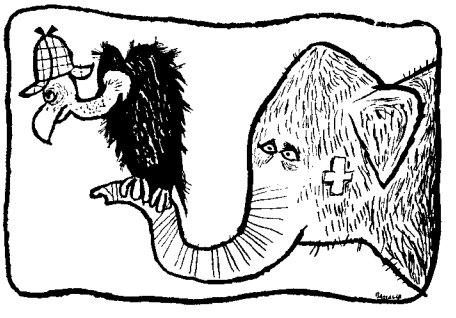
Further Confusion

Balanced against total departures of civil servants averaging half a million a year, according to Civil Service statistics, the 593 resignations credited to the security program take on less frightening proportions. It does not necessarily imply guilt for an accused employee to resign rather than face charges, since under the provisions of the Brownell order he can be suspended without pay during the long months that are required for an FBI investigation and a hearing.

But what of the 863 who, according to Hagerty's announcement, had not resigned but had been dismissed? Reporters who had followed the previous loyalty and security programs wanted to know under what procedures the 863 had been fired. Had they been accorded the right of a hearing and an appeal, as the Brownell order provides for all those with permanent status? (The approximately 900,000 employees who for one reason or another lack permanent status have no provision for a hearing under the new security order. A dismissal notice is final.)

Reporter Prina had moderate success in cracking some of the mystery of the security program. When he got nowhere at the Civil Service Commission, he began a systematic effort among the various agencies to determine how they had reached their individual breakdowns. He got some incredible responses. He learned that the Navy Department, for example, had prepared a press release stating that eight civilian workers had been fired and twelve others suspended as security risks. Before it had been released, however, the Navy was informed that the Civil Service Commission had counted 192 security dismissals for the Navy in its totals reported to the White House. After more than a month of wrangling, the Navy finally issued a release to the effect that there had been 192 persons "against whom a security question existed . . ." A Navy official commented to Prina that the Commission "took advantage of everything the broadest interpretation of the Executive Order would allow."

Among the major Departments, both the Air Force and the Post



Office came up with different figures than the ones assigned them by the Commission. The Air Force, after lengthy bickering, rebelled against conforming with the already announced "official" figure and canceled a press release on the subject. But an Air Force official told Prina that instances of questionable loyalty were proportionately no higher in that Department than in the Navy.

On January 8, illumination on the program came from an unexpected quarter. Representative Katherine St. George of New York, a Republican not given to radical statements, told reporters that only ten per cent of the 1,456 persons who had been removed were suspected subversives. She said she got her information from a high government official "who was in a position to know the overall security program situation." Mrs. St. George pointed out that even 100 tainted persons were too many. But by this time her note of moderation had been drowned out; in his State of the Union message on the preceding day, President Eisenhower had reported that dismissals under the security program now stood at "2,200 employees." But in a press conference on January 14, the President finally admitted what nobody else would say officially up to that time—that some of these people probably had resigned without knowing about derogatory information in their records. The situation is not likely to be clarified if the number mysteriously increases every time the reporters are able to make some sense out of it.

Despite the picture the Administration paints of a security program grinding away at high speed, the evidence that can be collected reveals a strangely opposite picture. A poll of twenty leading law firms in Washington that handle security cases shows that they have so far been retained in a total of only seventeen cases under the new program. Only three have progressed to the hearing stage. Of these, one still awaits a decision by the board, one has been determined in the employee's favor, and one has been decided for the employee by the hearing board but has not yet been acted on by the agency head. Case after case was awaiting selection of a hearing board, the suspended employee being meanwhile torn between the desire to clear himself and the compulsion to find a means of livelihood.

A possible explanation for the decline in legal representation was offered by attorney Carl L. Shipley, former head of the District of Columbia Young Republicans, to a

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Washington *Daily News* reporter. He mentioned that several accused persons had come to him. "Some of them were terrible hardship cases. But I couldn't take them," he said. "They asked me to recommend other lawyers, but I wouldn't be caught dead sending them to another lawyer—for fear he would think I think he's a Communist, or something. I know that's bad, but most lawyers feel the same way."

Perhaps zealous security officers have shaken the tree vigorously enough to loosen a good number of the frightened, the indifferent, and the unprotected. But it is clear that very few government employees have been proved to be genuine security risks and dismissed under the elaborate procedures for hearing and appeal provided by Brownell's security order itself.

How to Extinguish Fires

Why, then, the hullabaloo over these security figures? One cannot analyze with certainty Attorney General Brownell's motivation. But it seems clear that President Eisenhower and some of his other subordinates earnestly desire to create a convincing impression of toughness. By doing so, they hope to erase popular fears that the Federal government is threatened by Communists. Recently State Department Security Officer R. W. Scott McLeod and security officers in other Departments were urged to name a date when it could be announced that the government had finally been rid of all security risks. As President Eisenhower told a press conference: "By next fall I hope the public, no longer fearful that Communists are destructively at work within the government, will wish to commend the efficiency of this Administration in eliminating this menace to the nation's security."

Thus the 1,456 or 2,200 "security-risk dismissals"—like the Brownell-White affair—may well be part of a master strategy to take the ball away from the junior Senator from Wisconsin. It is a laudable project, perhaps. But if it works, it will almost certainly be the first time in history that the fires of demagogy have been extinguished by blowing on them.

Anti-Americanism In Japan

ATSUSHI OI as told to CLARKE H. KAWAKAMI

IT IS ALWAYS risky for a foreigner to attempt to read another nation's mind. Nevertheless a Japanese visitor to the United States today gets the impression that most Americans regard Japan as one of the few remaining bright spots on the ever-darkening face of Asia and, potentially at least, as the strongest and most reliable bulwark of the West in the critical Asian arena of the East-West world struggle.

True, there is growing impatience over Japan's reluctance to rearm—a reluctance underlined by the meager results of the exploratory talks held in Washington last October concerning rearmament and U.S. aid to Japan. This impatience, however, is accompanied by a curious tendency to underestimate the extent and potential seriousness of the growth of anti-Americanism in Japan, despite the fact that anti-Americanism is one of the major obstacles to Japanese rearmament and the general reinforcement of Japan's ties with the United States.

American optimism on this score stems, perhaps, from the view that the present anti-American trend in Japan is only a temporary, natural reaction to the occupation, which will soon wear itself out and give way to a calmer, more reasoned attitude. Such optimism might well be justified if anti-Americanism were being left to run its course without artificial stimulation. Unfortunately, however, it is being encouraged by small but highly vocal elements that are well placed to influence public opinion.

Thanks to the success of their propaganda, anti-American attitudes have become so widespread that the Government and the Diet, now much more responsive to popular opinion than in prewar days, can no longer disregard them. There is real cause to fear that the trend, unless checked in time, might eventually lead to Japan's defection from the American camp, a development that would be disastrous for Japan.

Anti-American sentiment is reflected in the frequent remarks critical of America that one overhears on streetcars and busses. It is shown by the avidity with which the newspapers, anxious to please their readers, play up anti-American news items such as troubles connected with American military bases. It is also evidenced by the box-office success of a number of recent films with an anti-American slant and by the popularity of a rash of anti-American books.

Mrs. Ishigaki Spots a Trend

To writers who propound the anti-American point of view, the current revulsion of feeling toward America has brought prosperity and renown. An outstanding example is Mrs. Ayako Ishigaki, long a resident of New York City, who went back to Japan after the war. Her book *Yameru Amerika* ("Sick America") won her instantaneous popularity last year, and currently she is a prolific contributor of anti-American articles to magazines of wide circulation and a sought-after partici-

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pant in forums on issues involving America. Her dominant theme is that America, under the impact of McCarthyism, is fast moving away from the democratic ideals of the Bill of Rights and becoming a land where freedom of thought no longer exists.

Writers who express pro-American views are finding it difficult to sell their articles to circulation-minded publishers. The *Asahi* newspapers, after acquiring rights to run a serialized Japanese translation of General Eisenhower's *Crusade in Europe,* finally dropped the project in view of the rising tide of anti-American sentiment. Interestingly enough, the only translated American book to score a hit in Japan recently has been *The Caine Mutiny.*

Public-opinion polls give strong evidence of the anti-American trend. In two nation-wide polls taken by the *Asahi* newspapers—the first in May, 1952, just after the Japanese-American peace treaty came into effect, and the second in June, 1953—those interviewed were asked both times whether they wished American military forces to remain in Japan. The answers in the first poll ran 48 per cent in favor of the American forces' remaining, 20 per cent opposed, and 32 per cent who either said they didn't care or expressed no opinion. In the June, 1953, poll, only 27 per cent were in favor, 47 per cent opposed, and 26 per cent gave no opinion. Doubtless the shift on this specific issue, aggravated as it was by agitation over American military bases, was particularly sharp. Still, it is reasonable to assume that opinion favoring a generally pro-American policy has undergone a similar, though probably less pronounced, decline.

In view of these tendencies, it is not surprising that anti-Americanism has become a political force. In the last general election, which took place in April, 1953, many individual Diet members with conspicuously pro-American records were defeated, and a number of candidates who campaigned on the basis of openly anti-American slogans won. Significant, too, was the fact that the results gave particularly heavy gains to the left-wing Socialists, who are the most solidly anti-American of all the major party groups in the Diet, the Communists being without representation.

History of Disenchantment

The rapid rise of anti-Americanism is the more striking in view of the fact that it was nonexistent in any organized form during the greater part of the occupation. This was not due to suppression. Most Japanese, in spite of the sting of defeat and the inevitable irritations arising from the presence of American troops and occupation control over all phases of the national life, were willing and even eager to follow American leadership. Gratitude for American economic assistance was also a big factor in creating a genuine feeling of friendship.

The first signs of a weakening in this attitude began to appear as a result of developments outside rather than inside Japan. With the loss of China to Communism and indications of American weakness in the face of aggressive Soviet moves, American prestige declined, and many Japanese began to wonder if it was safe to place all their eggs in the American basket. These tendencies were inevitably accentuated by the Korean War and the inability of the United Nations forces to achieve a clear-cut military victory. Doubt and fear gradually became dominant in Japanese thinking.

Naturally, the Communists were quick to exploit them. Organized anti-American agitation sprang up among university students who were particularly susceptible to Communist influence, and by 1950 it had gathered enough momentum to manifest itself in the first open show of resistance to the occupation. On May 30 of that year, student participants in a Communist-sponsored demonstration in front of the Imperial Palace in Tokyo assaulted some American soldiers who were watching the proceedings. Drastic repressive measures prevented any more such incidents during the occupation, but the Communists again showed their hand in the much more serious anti-American violence that occurred in Tokyo on May Day, 1952.

If the Communists were the sole instigators of anti-Americanism, it could not have attained its present proportions. The vast majority of Japanese are much too deeply suspicious of Communism and its purposes to be readily swayed by open Red agitation. No such suspicion, however, attached to the "peace" movement which began to gather headway in Japan before the end of the occupation, and this outwardly respectable campaign soon became the most effective agent in spreading anti-American ideas.

After the intense suffering of the war and the harsh consequences of defeat, the Japanese were naturally predisposed toward pacifism. The no-war and no-rearmament clauses of the new Constitution, even though imposed by MacArthur's headquarters, were received like gospel, and the intellectuals who began advocating a permanent pacifist reorientation of Japanese policy soon found themselves the leaders of a highly popular movement. To concert their efforts, a group of distinguished scholars banded together to form the Peace Problem Discussion Society. Headed by Dr. Yoshishige Abe, former Minister of Education and now president of the Peers' School, where Crown Prince Akihito is a student, its membership

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of sixty included the presidents of Tokyo University and several other leading academic institutions, as well as many professors of the highest reputation.

At first the movement showed no signs of anti-Americanism. However, as mounting East-West tension spurred Japanese fear of involvement in a new war and at the same time led American policy more and more toward building up Japan as a defensive outpost against Communist aggression, the Peace Problem Discussion Society began taking a stand clearly opposed to American aims. With the problems of the Japanese-American peace treaty and security pact coming to the fore in public discussion, the Society set forth its platform in the following "Four Principles of Peace":

1. No peace treaty with any nation until all Japan's former enemies, including Soviet Russia and China, agree.
2. No military commitment and no grant of military bases to any nation.
3. No rearmament of Japan.
4. Strict neutrality in world politics.

THE P.P.D.S. found an excellent organ for the propagation of its ideas in the monthly magazine *Sekai* ("World"), which has a circulation of a hundred thousand and is read almost like a textbook by educators, journalists, writers, and others engaged in cultural activity. Eagerly espousing the pacifist cause, *Sekai* began running articles by Society members in nearly every number. Its entire October, 1951, issue was a "peace" edition, featuring articles in opposition to the Japanese-American peace treaty and security pact. This issue was reprinted several times.

After this attack on the treaties that were the basic instruments aligning Japan with America in the East-West struggle, the P.P.D.S. assumed the leadership of the entire anti-American movement. Its usual approach was one of reasoned persuasion, in keeping with the scholarly character of its membership, but it also resorted to more down-to-earth propaganda methods calculated to appeal to the masses.

For example, one of its books,

edited by Dr. Arata Nagata, president of Hiroshima University, bore the title *Children of the Atomic Bomb*. It was a compilation of compositions written by Hiroshima schoolchildren telling of the sufferings they and their families had gone through as a result of the atom attack. To the highly emotional Japanese the book, and a film based on it, had strong appeal. Undoubtedly its basic purpose was anti-war rather than anti-American, but it could not help but inspire a sort of "Remember Hiroshima!" spirit of resentment and vengefulness toward Americans.

THE SUCCESS of this effort spurred the P.P.D.S. to cast about for other topics that might be exploited in the same way. Dr. Ikutaro Shimizu, professor at the Peers' School and an active member of the Society, was convinced that the fight to secure abrogation of the pro-American treaties would never make real headway as long as it was conducted only in terms of preserving the anti-war ideal of the Constitution and such high-minded arguments. He felt that it was necessary to win nation-wide popular support by exploiting a theme that would be vivid and easily understandable to farmers and housewives. Dr. Shimizu came up with the idea of focusing attention on the unwholesome influence resulting from the stationing of American troops at more than seven hundred bases all over Japan.

Adopting the same device used in the Hiroshima book, Dr. Shimizu gathered together compositions written by schoolchildren living near American military bases. These were carefully selected to bring out the more unpleasant aspects of relations between the troops and the local inhabitants and were arranged into a book entitled *Children of Military Bases*. This was followed by a succession of other books on the same general theme, the titles of which indicate their content and purpose. A few of the more important ones were *Chastity of Japan, Military Base Japan,* and *Women at Military Bases*.

Before these books appeared, the general public had not regarded the military bases as a particularly serious problem. Even in the communities most directly affected, there had been no great clamor against the American forces, since whatever irritations arose were more than offset by economic benefits to the communities. The P.P.D.S. propaganda campaign, however, stirred up a furor, the end results of which were

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to inflame local irritations between Americans and Japanese into a national issue.

Strikingly Similar

Today, of course, the most pressing and vital issue that confronts Japan is rearmament. It is a particularly thorny internal problem because no substantial measure of rearmament can be undertaken without amending the Constitution, which requires two-thirds majorities in both Houses of the Diet. While the necessary votes might be obtained in the Lower House by a solid coalition of the three conservative groups, it is generally agreed that a two-thirds majority is impossible in the Upper House at present. Needless to say, if the current anti-American trend of opinion continues, the task of amending the Constitution will become still more difficult.

The P.P.D.S. and other pacifist groups are naturally pouring their fullest energies into the fight against rearmament. Perhaps their outstanding champion in this field is Dr. Shigeto Tsuru, possessor of a Ph.D. from Harvard and chief of the Economic Research Institute of Hitotsubashi University. A capable and prolific writer, Tsuru has one or more articles appearing every month in *Sekai* and other magazines and is also frequently heard expounding his views on the air. Last September 12, taking part in a forum on rearmament broadcast by Radio Tokyo, he said in part:

"The Mutual Security Administration offer [of financial aid to promote Japanese rearmament] is nothing but bait to trap Japan into serving American interests in world politics . . . Senator Knowland said that Japan should rebuild her army with the same zeal displayed by South Korea and Formosa. In so saying, he disclosed America's intent to force us to build an army of aggression because Syngman Rhee plans to march up to the Yalu and Chiang Kai-shek to invade Red China . . ."

This statement is a good illustration of the fact that the spokesmen of the Japanese pacifist movement often express themselves in terms that are strikingly similar to the Moscow-Peking propaganda line. They insist, of course, that they are merely advocating a policy of peace-

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ful neutrality for Japan and are quick to deny any Communist sympathies. Such professions may be entirely honest and sincere, but it would be difficult to deny that the pacifist agitation, whatever its motives, is giving real aid and comfort to the Communist cause.

For one thing, the chronologies of the Japanese pacifist movement and the Kremlin's world-wide "peace" propaganda campaign were as similar as their content. *Sekai* first published an issue stressing "peace" just as the Stockholm Appeal was getting underway.

Even if this parallelism is a mere coincidence, there is no question that the Japanese Communists today are one hundred per cent behind the "peace" movement. The "Four Principles of Peace" enunciated as the platform of the pacifists doubles as a party slogan. Party-controlled publications go out of their way to lavish praise on the pacifist groups, making frequent reference in their pages to the P.P.D.S. and *Sekai*, as well as to another active pacifist organization known as the Japan Culturalist Conference and its organ, the monthly magazine *Heiwa* ("Peace").

THE Japan Culturalist Conference is similar in make-up to the P.P.D.S. but has a somewhat broader membership of five hundred persons prominent in all fields of cultural activity. *Heiwa* made its debut in July, 1952, and ever since has kept up a steady barrage of pacifist and anti-American propaganda. Its first editor, Tokusaburo Dan, has twice run for election to the Diet in the former constituency of Kyuichi Tokuda, Japan's foremost Communist, now in hiding, and Dan had the strong official support of the Communists in both campaigns.

The Communists, of course, realize that their immediate objective of alienating Japan from the United States is being promoted much more effectively by the pacifist groups than it would be if they themselves assumed direct and open leadership. Their early attempts at militant anti-American agitation were a complete failure. Further, their own political strength has declined to the point where they failed to seat a single candidate in the last two Diet elections. As a result, they have switched to United Front tactics. Their support and infiltration of the pacifist groups is but one phase of these tactics.

A Child's Garden of Propaganda

The Communists are resorting to other clandestine methods of promoting anti-Americanism. One of the most insidious is a long-range program to instill anti-American ideas in the minds of schoolchildren. Their big weapon in conducting this campaign is the Japan Teachers and School Workers Union, the largest of all Japanese labor unions, with a membership of about 550,000. While the majority of its members are honest and well-meaning, the union leadership has long been known to be subservient to Communist aims. This fact is so generally recognized that the union has won the nickname of *tancho-zuru*—a Japanese crane with a red crest on its head.

The union's undercover activity to promote anti-Americanism was brought to light last spring as a result of the dissemination among elementary-school students in Yamaguchi Prefecture of a booklet entitled "The Schoolchildren's Diary." Written by a group of teachers, it consisted of short, simply worded texts on a variety of topics, including the Korean War, rearmament, and the Japanese peace treaty, all calculated to put across the idea that America is an aggressive, war-minded nation while China and Soviet Russia are "powers of peace." The following excerpt from the text on rearmament is typical:

"Rearmament is said to be a lock on the door to keep out burglars. But while the lock costs more and more money every year, the burglars we are warned of do not appear. Some say that this is because the lock discourages them from trying to break in. But alas, though the front door is locked, the back door is left standing wide open. A dignified-looking gentleman has walked in to steal hundreds of precious articles, and still the Japanese people are not cautioned. The stolen articles are military bases. Naturally we cannot help but wonder who is the real burglar we should guard against."

This obvious propaganda effort did not escape the attention of the press, and in due course it was discovered that the preparation and publication of the booklet had been engineered by the prefectural branch of the Teachers and School Workers Union. The incident caused such a furor that the authorities intervened to stop circulation of the booklet, but there is little reason to expect that this setback will discourage the union from continuing its efforts wherever possible.

The Teachers and School Workers Union recently launched another propaganda venture, using some of its ample funds to finance the production of a film entitled "Hiroshima." So obvious and crude was the film's anti-American intent that the major movie distributors, who had been asked by the Government to clamp down on pictures likely to stimulate anti-American feeling, refused to handle it. The union, however, has partially overcome this obstacle by leasing theaters to show

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the film in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. If this move proves financially successful, it will probably do the same elsewhere.

Neutralism Is Impossible

It is quite evident, then, that the current anti-American trend in Japan is not just an inevitable swing of the pendulum but is largely the result of deliberate, concerted agitation by the Communist-supported pacifists and the Communists themselves. Such agitation can hardly be expected to die down as long as the present tension between East and West continues unabated, and as long as Japan finds itself enmeshed in the struggle.

Admittedly, the task of finding effective countermeasures to check the growth of anti-Americanism is primarily up to Japan itself. It will not be easy, in view of the head start the pacifists and the Communists have been allowed to gain. But a determined effort to combat anti-Americanism will be favored by the fact that the arguments of the anti-American elements are largely based on fear and sentimentalism rather than on a realistic appraisal of Japan's best interests.

Though the solution rests first of all with Japan, American co-operation can certainly make its achievement easier. As a Japanese, the writer would not presume to suggest the precise form and extent of this co-operation. He would merely like to proffer the opinion that the more it is based on a spirit of confidence and equal partnership and the less it takes the form of direct and obvious pressure, exemplified by the Dulles and Knowland admonitions to rearm posthaste, the greater will be the chances of reversing the anti-American trend of Japanese opinion.

One thing is certain. Because of its situation—geographical, economic, political, and strategic—Japan cannot stand neutral as the Japanese pacifists advocate. Its alienation from the American camp would inevitably lead to its absorption within the Red orbit.

That is why neither Japan nor the United States can afford to sit back and let the pacifist-Communist propaganda effort succeed by default.

Any Resemblance...

Waste Product

MARYA MANNES

SHE IS one of the defenseless, Henrietta; having harmed no one, yet being the object of harm; helpless in a society which helps itself; acutely single in a plural world. What pretenses she has are directed toward herself, in the name of survival.

Where will you find her? Oh, in many places in a big city. You will pass her in the street wherever you walk. You will see her in the park, almost hidden by pigeons, with only her feet and the hands that are reaching into the paper bag visible through the gray flutter. You will see her through the plate-glass windows of a big, brilliantly lit cafeteria, eating—at five in the afternoon—her dinner of chicken à la king or cream cheese on date bread. And—if you are so inclined—you may spot her at one of those meetings in a bare rehearsal hall where a young man with a soft white face speaks of "Joy" and "Peace" and "Other-Living."

THERE WILL be something about her clothes and her walk that will arrest your eye, and, after you have passed, will stir your pity or derision, depending on your disposition. She may be talking to herself or shaking her head or frowning or smiling. She is one of many thousands, and you cannot miss her.

Certainly you cannot miss Henrietta. The back of her matted, frizzy hair is rusty with dye, the front a grizzled brown. Everything she has on but her shoes is green: pot hat with felt flowers, perched on top of her bushy pate; checked green coat of no style; green earrings, dangling; and around her neck some green beads and a scarf with a lot of green in it. The greens do not match. Her tan lisle stockings are twisted around her ankles and her shoes are dusty oxfords, cracked at the joints of her toes and gaping around the instep. She carries parcels in brown paper bags (food for the pigeons?) and a large plastic carry-all handbag. Henrietta is not actually freakish, but she is certainly bizarre. You might call her "not quite there."

You would be quite right, Henrietta is not quite there. But it is hard to say where she is. No one has really known ever since Henny was a little girl in upstate New York.

HER FATHER was the community's hardware merchant—kind, reliable, completely preoccupied with business. Her mother came from a "good family" and was a hypochondriac—querulous, silly, and turned in on herself. They had two children, of whom the boy, Fred, was their pride and joy, and Henrietta, the elder, their chronic distress. Not that she wasn't a good child—she

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was very good, very obedient and quiet. But she was very slow at school – backward, really – and no good at anything but drawing flowers. Tiny flowers. She would lie down in the grass in summertime—even when she was sixteen—and make minute drawings of the smallest blossoms and grass forms she could find. Her mother was embarrassed by these efforts.

As Henny grew into adolescence, her parents found they could do nothing about her appearance. She was untidy and not too clean, and her clothes were—in the eyes of her schoolmates—outlandish. Or rather, she wore them in an outlandish way. She was always either too quiet or too giggly or too weepy. Her brother was sorry for her, but also repelled; he teased her about boys, pretending that they were madly in love with her.

At one point her parents consulted their doctor about her. He admitted that Henny was not quite—well—up to her age, but said she'd grow out of it. He prescribed certain tonics and advised plenty of air and exercise. "She must see more people of her own age," he said, presumably unaware that people of her own age did not want to see her. In those days and in that community there was no psychiatry, although a friend of Henny's father suggested that maybe she needed mental help. Her mother rejected this thought with violence. "Mental" was a word of horror. She clamped down hard on the memory of her grandmother, who had been committed to a "place" fifteen years before.

As Henrietta reached her twenties, without friends, beaux, or the capacity to work, her parents were desperate. Poor silly Henrietta, what could she do in the world, looking as she did, acting as she did? It wasn't that she was crazy —just strange and confused, except for certain things; birds and flowers and saving money, for instance. And in any case the dreadful strain of having her in the house was telling on her mother's health.

Then something happened to rescue Henrietta. An eccentric uncle, who had seldom seen her but who must have been guided by a compassionate intuition, left Henrietta all his money when he died. It was enough to allow her an income of about two thousand a year; certainly enough to save Henrietta from that Worst which no one ever dared define.

Henny's cloudy, distant mind understood what this meant: freedom. One day while her parents were out of the house she threw some things in a bag, went to the highway, and flagged a bus. That was the last her parents ever saw of her. They got a letter three days later, smudged and scrawled and misspelled, saying that she was all right in the city and very busy. She gave no address. Her parents told each other that they must try and trace her, but they never did. To others they said that Henny was doing fine in the city and seemed happy at last. They might have been right.

Now, thirty years later, Henny is indeed very busy. What with the pigeons and Joy and Peace and keeping accounts, she has barely a moment to herself. She has so many things to do that she has to make lists of them every day. If you should see Henrietta in a bus, for instance, you will notice her taking slips of paper out of her big, stuffed bag and examining them. If you look over her shoulder you will see that they are covered with writing, like messy shopping lists. If you look closer you will find that the writing does not mean anything at all. It is empty scribble, letterless.

Then Henrietta will fumble for a pencil and start to cross off the items by drawing a line through them. She will do this until all the pieces of paper, back and front, are covered with canceled scribble.

Then, if you watch her closely, she will start writing a new list—and then cross the items on *that* off. It is wonderful for Henrietta to have so much to do. Everybody in the city has so much to do. It keeps a person from being lonely, doesn't it?

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Two Envoys:

1. Bowles in India

ROBERT SHAPLEN

AMBASSADOR'S REPORT, by Chester Bowles. *Harper's. $4.*

PERHAPS at no time and nowhere was a great world power so peculiarly perplexed as we were in Asia after V-J Day. At first the perplexity was the result of the war's abrupt end and of certain unavoidable problems of military occupation. But it was soon followed by less pardonable miscalculations – political, psychological, social, and economic.

The tendency nowadays is to blame all our failures and shortcomings on our unawareness of Communist imperialism. But it was much more complicated than that. What we faced in each Asian nation was different, and it was all different from what we faced in Europe. No one policy and no one man—neither Stettinius, Byrnes, Marshall, Acheson, nor Dulles—can be blamed for what was done wrong or not done at all. And comparisons with Europe only confound matters; what worked in Greece, for example, would never have worked in China.

Will we do any better in India than we have done elsewhere in Asia? This is the crucial question with which *Ambassador's Report* is concerned.

MR. BOWLES has filled his book with graphic information, lively but carefully considered opinions, and the sort of direct, positive thinking one might expect from a former captain of the advertising industry. Endowed with a sound liberal outlook, a deep sense of political responsibility, and a rare mixture of sophistication, humility, and zeal, Mr. Bowles was determined when he undertook his job as Ambassador to India (which he thought would last a lot longer than the year and a half it did) to stay out of striped pants and streamlined cars and to learn as much as he could about India. He was also determined to make learning a two-way process by clearing up many of the misconceptions Indians have acquired about America through ignorance and Communist propaganda.

One does not have to agree with everything Mr. Bowles says to comprehend the transcendent importance of India to the United States. He has done a great deal to explain the mysterious, provocative, and often maddening subcontinent to his fellow citizens, many of whom, as he says, are ahead of their bureaucrats in their thinking. He has done this, in part, by forcing us to look back as well as ahead.

Unlike in Europe, it has invariably taken a crisis to stir us to action in Asia. In Europe, in the face of misery and despair, we have acted out of hope, toward rebuilding. In Asia, in the face of misery and hope, we have acted out of despair, toward mere shoring up. We've been largely motivated by ideas in Europe, by improvisation in Asia.

Will we now respond to India in time? Mr. Bowles does not exaggerate when he says that India's ability to surpass, by democratic means, China's accomplishments under dictatorship will determine *in the next few years* the future of all of Asia. Peking and New Delhi are the poles of attraction. India may offer us our last chance to have friends instead of enemies on the Asian mainland.

'Pilot Plants' Are Not Enough

There are several facets to the problem as Bowles puts it. What have we done to date? What is already, under the Republicans, being undone? What does India need most? What will India let us do?

Mr. Bowles considers the Point Four program—which he notes has already been cut almost out of existence—as "the most creative idea of our generation." If we give it up, he adds, "It would be one of the most tragic mistakes in the history of American policy."

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is not enough, especially as Russia continues to aid China with heavy equipment. "What is now required," Mr. Bowles says, "is an American aid program, on a large enough scale and soundly enough conceived, to fill the gap between the *maximum* possible savings of nations like India and the *minimum* needs for a program of economic development. The time has passed for 'pilot plant.' We have pilot-studied Asia almost to death. The funds required to do the job as it needs to be done will not amount to more than 5 or 10 per cent of what we must spend on armaments." He estimates that India will need $600 million over the next three years to put its development plan across. With something of the old adman's flair, he adds: "Our preoccupation with the problem of putting out fires, however urgent, cannot be permitted to obscure the larger task of fireproofing the buildings."

Mr. Bowles's own great contribution to India's Five-Year Plan was to sell the idea of community projects for India's 500,000 villages. These combine Gandhian concepts of planting gardens with the agricultural extension-service techniques. Fifty-five such projects, backed by $54 million of American aid, were launched while Mr. Bowles was in India, and by April, 1956, four hundred projects affecting one hundred million people will be in operation. Emphasis is on agricultural engineering, malaria control, public health, and literacy. Beyond doubt, this has been the best answer we've come up with so far to help Asian democracy compete with Communism at the village level.

What the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations are doing in India gets the former Ambassador's praise, but he feels that private investment can't do much yet. As he points out, revolutionary instability, hypersensitive nationalism, and our own tax and anti-trust laws are factors hindering such investment. Perhaps Mr. Bowles exaggerates the handicaps. Although social welfare and educational aid are best extended by government, surely dams, roads, and power plants can be built with private as well as public capital. Mr. Bowles paints an unnecessarily black picture for businessmen, who may provide the only alternative to the aid our government is no longer willing to extend.

He properly urges that economic strings be attached to our aid, as was successfully done in the face of opposition in the Philippines. He also stresses the importance of keeping our economic and military programs parallel but separate. "If they are put on the same track, in Asia at least, they may cancel each other out."

THE PERIPATETIC Ambassador considered the spread of information as important as socio-economic programs. And in this respect, he found the Communists far ahead of us,

flooding India with propaganda literature. In Trivandrum, capital of Travancore-Cochin, the only American book available in a city with numerous Communist bookstalls was *Uncle Fitzgerald's Bedtime Stories.* The adman speaks again: "Sometimes we have sounded as though we thought communism were some kind of international halitosis which could be effectively eliminated only by our special American brand of democracy cast in the role of Listerine." Bowles vastly improved the dissemination of "non-commercial" information while he was in India, but, as he notes, the U.S. Information Service programs have since been drastically curtailed.

Mr. Bowles arrived in India believing that what Asian countries needed was benevolent dictators on the Kemal Atatürk pattern. His mind was changed after he watched the Indian election ("I can imagine no achievement greater") and after meeting and becoming a close friend of Prime Minister Nehru.

There are those who might feel that the book oversimplifies Nehru (who, in his own way, is also something of a benevolent dictator), but Mr. Bowles has not permitted his admiration to deflect his criticism where he believes it is due. He considers Nehru India's only great leader and says that whether Nehru stays in power for another ten years may in itself make or break the Indian experiment in democracy. He does not say that one of Nehru's shortcomings, which was one of Roosevelt's too, is his strange inability to develop or even to countenance other leaders, whether they be contemporaries or younger men.

Nehru, according to Mr. Bowles, is imperious but he is also a man of humility and a democrat, privately as well as officially. The conflict of his background is responsible for his "neutralism." The one American who has probably seen more of Nehru than any of his compatriots since the war concludes that the Prime Minister's "deep devotion to Western concepts of democracy was as obvious as his determination to be an Asian, to think and act independently, and above all not to be dominated by his Western training and his Western friends."

Nehru's underestimation of the threat of world Communism and its special danger to India strikes Mr. Bowles forcibly. He deems it "immature" and "ridiculous" to think Nehru is against us simply because he is not a hundred per cent for us; but he still found Nehru blind to our purposes in establishing NATO in Europe and convinced that America might frighten Russia into waging war: "Once he told me that he recognized the necessity for Western armaments but wished that we would stop trying to match the Russians in vituperation and rancor."

MR. BOWLES offers his own clear and cogent analysis of how the Indian Communists have always slavishly followed the zigs and zags of

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the Moscow and/or Peking line, and one wishes he might have had better luck in convincing Nehru, in their long talks, of the fundamental nature of Communist imperialism. "Except on two or three particularly overcharged subjects," Mr. Bowles says of Nehru, "I have never known anyone in public life who seemed more willing to listen objectively and to change his mind when the facts or logic called for it." Unfortunately, the key to the sentence, and to Nehru, may lie in the first clause. ". . . I can think of no better path to an understanding of the new free Asia than an effort at sympathetic understanding of the mind and heart of Jawaharlal Nehru," Mr. Bowles concludes. But Nehru, too, must make an effort at understanding.

The Young Engineer

Out of all the thousands of Indians to whom Mr. Bowles talked in his village travels, one young man, an American-educated engineer in Nagpur, stands out. "You know how I hate communism," he said to the Ambassador, "and desperately want to see India not only remain a democracy, but become stronger and more effective as a free nation. But I am only twenty-seven years old. I have a wife and two young children. I have thirty or more active years ahead of me, and I don't want to be a martyr and spend those years in a Communist salt mine. So I suppose that I will watch and see whether the Communists grow stronger. If some day it seems clear that they are going to win I will join them, not because I like dictatorships and dislike democracy but because there will be nothing else for me to do. Perhaps if communism comes to India it may be different, more tolerant, less bitter, borrowing something from Gandhi. And who knows, perhaps a new kind of communism generated here might eventually soften and modify even the brutal ways of the Russians and Chinese?"

Here is the perfect extrapolation of Nehru's underestimation of the Communist threat to India. Mr. Bowles says, "This young man . . . speaks for more young Asians than I care to think . . ."

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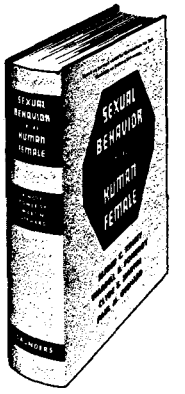

It was not the Kinsey group, to be sure, which discovered the existence of a difference between men and women in the matter of psychologic responses.

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the young man in Nagpur, and harder for ourselves too, if we are impatient with India, as we have been sometimes.

If India is to avoid going through the familiar Communist mill, to the ultimate disillusion of the decent Nagpur engineer, India will need our help. But our ability to participate, actively and beneficially, in the great Indian experiment, and do it in time, will also depend on our ability to talk frankly and, if need be, critically.

2. *Stevens in Russia*

GOUVERNEUR PAULDING

RUSSIAN ASSIGNMENT, by Leslie C. Stevens. Vice Admiral, U.S.N. (Retired). Illustrations by Vera Drashevsky. *Little, Brown. $5.75.*

THERE is nothing out of the way in the fact that our naval attaché in Moscow from 1947 to 1949 had the courtesy to study and master the difficult language of the enigmatic country to which he was accredited—or that he liked to go fishing. What is surprising in *Russian Assignment* is that although Admiral Stevens catches few fish and never talks to them about life or death or courage, he writes about his fishing trips—on the Moscow-Volga Canal or with Swedish friends on vacation in Lapland—as well as Hemingway has ever done.

What is even more unusual in these dreary times is that he enjoyed Russian for the sake of the language itself—as though it were music—and that he employed his mastery of Russian to further a double purpose: He sought to understand and like the Russian people, and in this he succeeded; he wanted individual Russians to be aware that an American could like and understand them, but he came to learn that for an American to offer or accept friendship meant the kiss of death—for the Russian. The author's progress to the knowledge that no one in Russia could be his friend gives tragic unity to these varied and brilliantly written views of Russia.

The Closed Rooms

The U.S. naval attaché did not engage in undercover work. "When I first came to Moscow," Admiral Stevens said to General Serayev in reply to a Soviet complaint, "I told you that I and everyone in my office considered ourselves as guests in Russia, and that we would conduct ourselves as guests. When one is a guest in a house, and the host has some locked rooms or locked chests, one does not try to break into them. We have no intention of going into closed rooms or prohibited areas, but we will not shut our eyes to the pictures on the walls, the books in the bookshelves, and the things that are lying on the tables." But he came to realize that merely not committing espionage was not enough.

THE SAME scenes were always recurring. One day he walked through the gardens of Catherine the Great's Summer Palace in Peterhof on the Gulf of Finland near Leningrad and watched the play of the monumental fountains: "There was a gigantic golden Samson in the middle, wrestling with the lion, and golden lion cubs peeped out from the streaming caverns beneath." He fell into conversation with a Russian who was reading a paper-bound book in French.

For a long time they talked about pipe tobaccos and eventually about the merits of Russian nightingales. The Russian wanted Admiral Stevens to hear their singing, but the Admiral was returning to Moscow. The Russian said: "You will come back again, and then I can take you. I want you to come to my home, and get to know my wife. Also, I go to Moscow occasionally, and when I do, I shall call you at your Embassy. Perhaps we can see something of each other then." And the Admiral writes sadly: "We had kept away from politics until then, but at last the time had come when it was necessary to tell him what one has to tell all of the gentle people who are kind and hospitable in the countries under the Hammer and Sickle. I told him that nothing would please me better than to see him again, but it would only be asking for trouble for him. . . . Perhaps things would change a bit for the better, and then, when it was clear that it would not harm him, we could see each other often. Meanwhile we had had this one lovely day."

Or there was the time on the plane when the Admiral made friends. At night the passengers had a long wait at an airport. The authorities provided the Admiral with a private room. The Admiral asked his friends in for a drink. They did not come. The Admiral opened his door. An MVD officer was standing guard.

Heart, Not Mind

And so the Admiral would go to the theater, where his presence would not compromise the actors; or to the museums, where he would not endanger the pictures; or again and again—for it fascinated him—to the tomb on the Red Square where Lenin lay. He visited the churches and monasteries, the field of battle at Borodino where Russia faced the 1812 invader, and Tolstoy's home. He traveled as widely as the régime would permit—to Siberia, to the Crimea.

And everywhere he walked the streets, looked into the faces of the people, sat in bars and in nondiplomatic restaurants. He read the great Russian writers of the past. He quotes a Russian writer as saying that Russia can be understood only through the heart and not through the mind.

This extraordinary naval attaché of ours had the heart and mind to love the Russian people and hate Soviet cruelty. He also had an artist's insight. That is why he has written so true a book.

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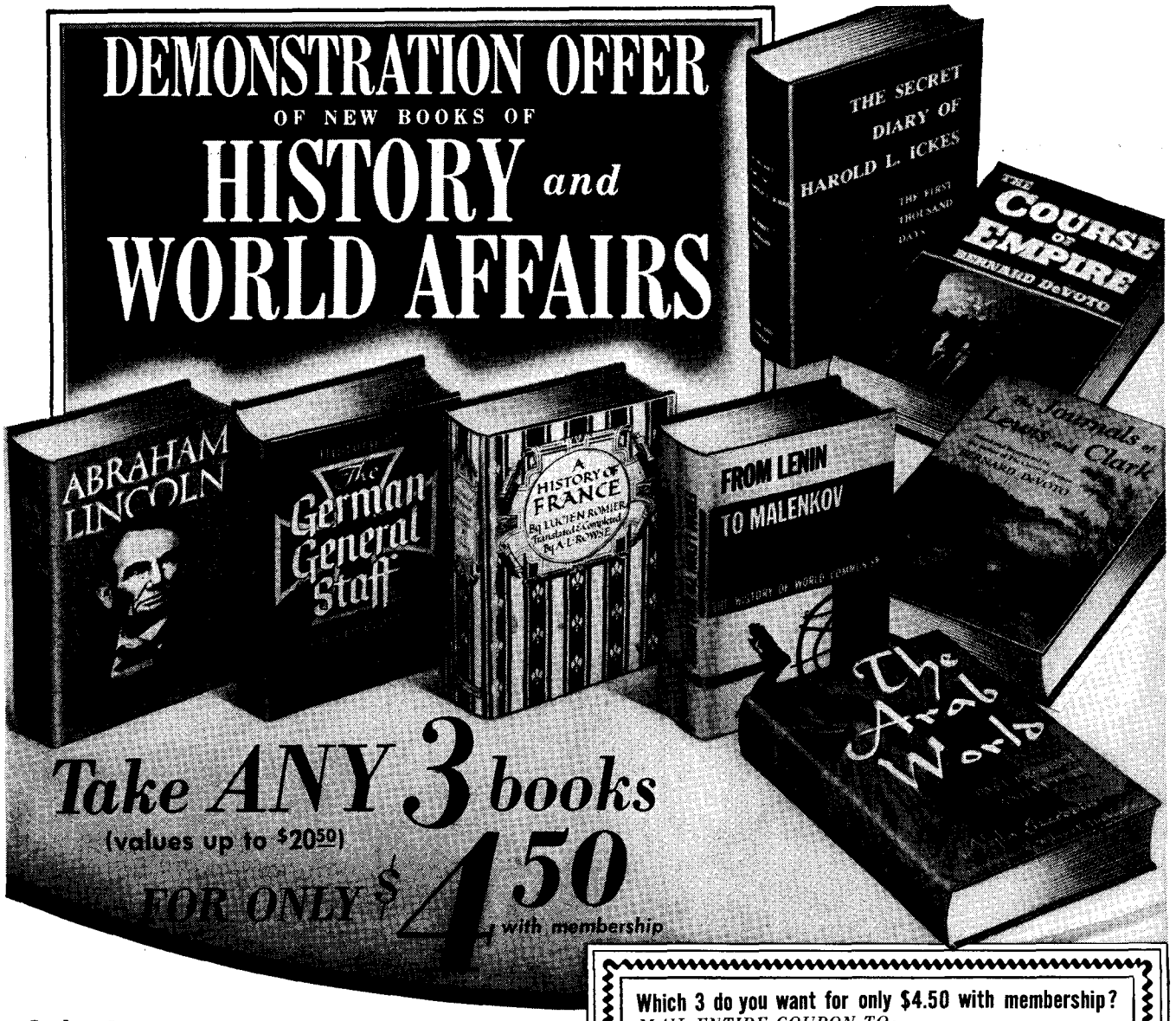

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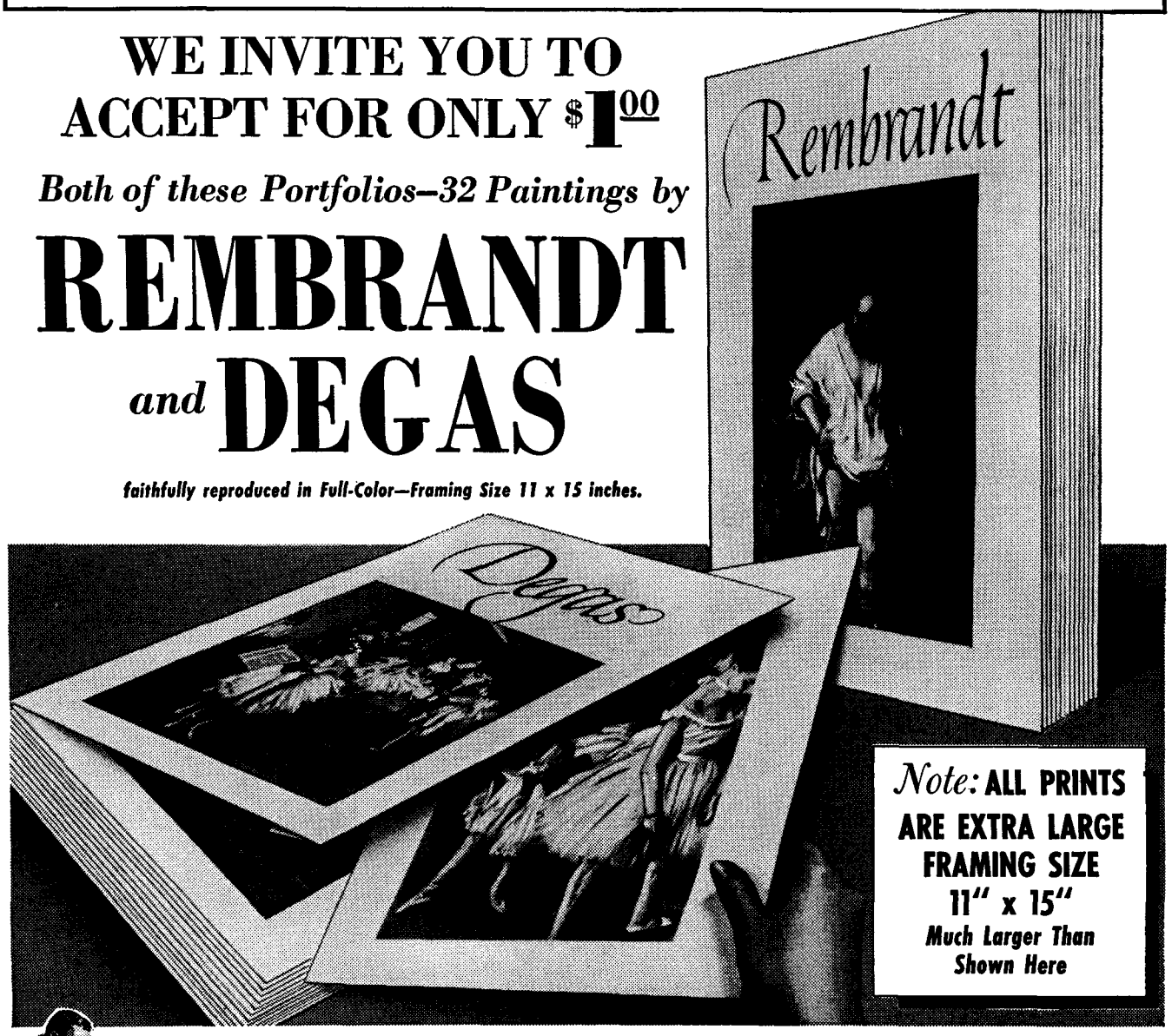

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